BULLETIN

OF THE

American Schools of Oriental Research

JERUSALEM BAGHDAD

NUMBER 156 DECEMBER, 1959

Published Quarterly (February, April, October, December)

by the American Schools of Oriental Research. Editor W. F. Albright, Gilman Hall, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore 18, Md. Subscription price $2.00 a year, payable to the American Schools of Oriental Research, Drawer 93A, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.

Entered as second class matter January 18, 1934, at the Post Office at Baltimore, Md. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of February 28, 1925.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, BY J. H. FURST COMPANY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
The Fifty-seventh Annual Report of the President	1
Report of the Director of the School in Jerusalem	4
Report of the Director of the School at Baghdad	7
Sounding in the Grounds of the School in Jerusalem: December, 1958–April, 1959. Robert J. Marshall	9
The Neolithic Pottery of Palestine. J. Kaplan	15
The Sixth Season at Dothan. Joseph P. Free	22
The Nabataean Goddess 'Al-Kutba' and Her Sanctuaries. John Strugnell	29
Some Notes on the Nabataean Goddess 'Al-Kutba' and Related Matters. W. F. Albright	37
On the Preferential Status of the Eldest Son. I. Mendelsohn	38
On the "Amorite" Ta/Te "With." Matitiahu Tsevat	40
Some Books on the History and Archaeology of Palestine and Syria	41
Publications of the Schools	43

For indexes to the BULLETIN see Nos. 50, 74, 76, 80, 103, 105, 141.

THE FIFTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

The yearly report of the President for the academic year 1958-59 follows the usual pattern. All meetings were held at the scheduled times. The two meetings of the Board of Trustees took place in New York City at the Cornell Club. The Corporation met in connection with the meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature at Union Theological Seminary,

and the Alumni Association had its annual luncheon at the Columbia University Faculty Club at the same time. Business matters were duly discharged by the responsible members of the administration, and annual appointments to the various positions in the field were made upon nomination of the Jerusalem and Baghdad School Committees. The other committees have been functioning with their customary efficiency.

The system of administration inaugurated two years ago has been continued very successfully, with Professor William Reed of Lexington, Ky., acting as executive assistant to the President. We share our responsibilities in such a way that the task of keeping the Schools operating does not become a burden to any member of the administrative group.

Owing to unsettled conditions, the Baghdad School has not been operating in Iraq this year. Dr. Fred Winnett, Director of the Jerusalem School, served also as Annual Professor of the Baghdad School. He was able to make one trip to Baghdad but could not accomplish anything. Dr. George Dales has been engaged in projects of his own in southern Iran, while Dr. Vaughn Crawford has also been busy on projects other than those we formerly carried on in Iraq. A report by the latter appears in this number of the BULLETIN.

Dr. Samuel Kramer, chairman of the Baghdad School Committee, has been making plans for the future, and we hope that we may soon return to Iraq.

The Director of the Jerusalem School for the past academic year has been Professor Fred Winnett of the University of Toronto, who served in this capacity almost a decade ago. We were very pleased to have Professor and Mrs. Winnett take charge of the affairs of the School again, and from all accounts it was a most successful year. We are sorry only that he was not able to conduct his planned expedition to Arabia in search of inscriptions, but hope that he may return later to finish his research. The detailed report by Professor Winnett of the work done at the School in Jerusalem appears in this BULLETIN.

Dr. Robert J. Marshall, of the Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary, was Annual Professor, while the two Fellows, Dr. Raymond E. Brown, S. S., and Willard G. Oxtoby, continued to work on the Dead Sea Scrolls at the Palestine Museum.

The Jerusalem School Committee, under the chairmanship of Professor Robert Dentan, has been busy on the perpetual problem of staffing the School and, more particularly, the search for a director who will stay for more than a year. This is one of our most pressing needs and the most difficult position to fill. We have some eager candidates, but few who are both willing and able. We continue to be optimistic and may shortly have an appointment to announce.

Our scholarly publications have been issued at regular intervals under the direction of the chairman of the Publications Committee, Dr. Albright. The BULLETIN, the *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* and the *Biblical Archaeologist* are, as usual, considered to be among the leading publications in their respective fields.

The business office in New Haven continues to be under the direction

of Mrs. Gladys Walton, with the assistance of Mrs. Piazza. We still occupy rooms in one of the University buildings on Hillhouse Avenue through the courtesy of Yale University. Again, I would express my appreciation to the authorities of the University for their kindness in allowing us to conduct our business in New Haven.

The new Assistant Treasurer, The Chase Manhattan Bank, has been managing our financial affairs since July 1. Mr. Walter H. Pecan, Assistant Vice President of the bank, is directly in charge of the account. We hope that this new arrangement, with the majority of the Finance Committee living in New York City, will be more efficient, and we hope that the account of the Schools will benefit by closer attention. Mr. John Warrington continues as Treasurer, assisted by the Finance Committee, which has been increased in size by recent reorganization. The President and the Treasurer are ex-officio members, and the other members of the Committee are Messrs. Oliver Reynolds, Thomas Phelps and Otto v. Kienbusch.

Dr. Albright, chairman of the *ad hoc* committee on Nimrud Dagh, reports that work on the publication is being carried on by Miss Theresa Goell and Professor John H. Young. Miss Goell was in Turkey again during this last year, while Professor Young has been in Greece on a Guggenheim Fellowship.

The expedition to Ancient Sardis, under the auspices of the Schools and sponsored by the Bollingen Foundation, Cornell and Harvard Universities, conducted its second season of exploration the summer of 1959. Professor George Hanfmann was Director and I was the Associate Director. Again, the results were most satisfactory and indicate that we have many years of work ahead of us. The report on this season will appear soon in the BULLETIN.

Finally, I must conclude my report by stating that conditions in the Near East continue to be unstable. It is still difficult to prophesy the future and, under the circumstances, even more impossible to make long-range plans. We are proud of the way our people in the field have performed their duties and are particularly pleased with our representation in the Near East at the moment. We have also received the full cooperation of the State Department. I do hope that our members will appreciate the fact that we are operating in a difficult situation and that we are keeping close watch on developments in the field.

It is my pleasure to welcome as members of the Corporation the following institutions which have joined during the past year:

Lycoming College, Williamsport, Pennsylvania
Evangelical Theological Seminary, Naperville, Illinois
St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Massachusetts
St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, New York
University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana
Colgate Rochester renewed its membership.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE SCHOOL IN JERUSALEM

To the President and Trustees of the
American Schools of Oriental Research:

I have the honour to submit the following report on the activities of the Jerusalem School for the academic year 1958-59.

My wife and I arrived in Jerusalem on June 24, 1958, and took over the direction of the School from Professor H. N. Richardson on July 1. The beginning of my tenure of office was overshadowed by the civil war raging in Lebanon and the arrival at the School of some American refugees from Beirut. The outbreak of a revolt in Iraq on July 14 added to the feeling of uncertainty, and School personnel were warned by the consular authorities to prepare for possible evacuation. Fortunately this did not prove necessary and the summer passed without untoward incident as far as Jordan was concerned.

The Annual Professor, Professor Robert J. Marshall of the Chicago Lutheran Seminary, arrived with his wife and two children on September 8. The Honorary Lecturer, Professor Lester J. Kuyper of Western Theological Seminary, Holland, Michigan, arrived shortly after, as did the Two Brothers Fellow from Yale, Mr. Robert H. Smith. One of the School Fellows, Father Raymond E. Brown, S. S., of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, had arrived on July 4. The other Fellow, Professor J. Morris Ashcraft of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, found it necessary to resign his Fellowship—much to my disappointment. His place was taken by Mr. Willard G. Oxtoby, a graduate student at Princeton, who arrived early in October, accompanied by his bride. Father Thomas Leahy, S. J., of Alma College, Los Gatos, California, resided at the School but attended lectures at the Ecole Biblique. During the latter half of August the School was honored by a visit from one of the Trustees, Professor Herbert G. May. Another guest whom it was a pleasure to welcome was Mrs. Hepner, the mother of Mrs. Marshall.

The academic program of the School naturally gave a prominent place to field trips. An effort was made to see that the School group had an opportunity of visiting as many sites as possible. West Jordan was covered quite extensively during the School year, and most of the important sites in East Jordan were visited as well. Owing to the disturbed political situation outside Jordan it was not possible to carry out the usual field trip to Syria and Lebanon in October. However, by spring conditions had calmed down sufficiently for the trip to be undertaken and on March 4 Professor Marshall took a party, consisting of Fathers Brown and Leahy, Mr. and Mrs. Oxtoby and Mr. Smith, to Damascus and the Lebanese coast. They returned on the 14th since bad weather made it inadvisable to proceed farther afield. Early in May they ventured forth again and were able to carry out practically all of their itinerary as planned, penetrating as far as Mersin and Adana in southern Turkey. Professor Marshall and Mr. Smith spent the last week of November and the first two weeks of December in Egypt where they met with a very cordial

reception. Professor Kuyper accompanied them for the first week, then flew to Muscat and Kuwait to visit some mission stations of his church. Father Brown spent the first three weeks of November in Rome, where he was successful in passing the examinations for the Bachelor of Scripture degree and also was present at the coronation of the new Pope.

A lecture program was carried on at the School at the beginning of the academic year, when Professor Marshall and I gave a number of talks on the Archaeological History of Jerusalem, and again during the months of January and February when Professor Marshall gave a series of lectures on "Ancient Near Eastern Chronologies and the Old Testament" and I gave a series on "Ancient Arabia." In July the Director gave a lecture on "Recent Archaeological Research in Arabia" to the summer school in Islamics being held at St. George's. On September 16 ex-Director Skehan gave a public lecture at the Museum on "The Manuscripts from Khirbet Qumran." During the course of the winter a number of public lectures were given at the School by Dr. Canaan, Dr. Kuyper, Mrs. Every of St. George's, and by Dr. C. D. Matthews of the Arabian Affairs Division, Aramco, Dhahran.

The research function of the School was represented by a number of projects in which each member found an opportunity of pursuing his own interests. Professor Marshall supervised the clearance of some walls and a mosaic floor discovered in the front yard of the School. He has prepared a report which will, I hope, appear in the BULLETIN. Father Brown was engaged in compiling a concordance of the non-Biblical materials among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Mr. Oxtoby developed a keen interest in Arabic epigraphy and made a collection of 400 texts which he plans to use as the basis of a Ph. D. thesis at Princeton. Mr. Smith undertook, with the assistance of the Department of Antiquities, the clearance of some tombs at Khirbet Kufin, near Halhul on the Hebron road. From April 26 to May 5 he cleared four tombs dating from the transitional period between Early and Middle Bronze and recovered quite a few objects. He has prepared a full report on the excavation and this is now in my hands. During the last week in May and during the month of June the members of the School were privileged to participate in Professor Pritchard's excavation at el-Jib. Thus their activities during the year had a well-rounded character.

The Director was able to pursue his interest in pre-Islamic Arabic by organizing two expeditions to search for Safaitic inscriptions in the neighborhood of pumping-station H4 on the IPC pipeline. The presence of such inscriptions in this area had been reported to Mr. Harding, former Director of Antiquities in Jordan, by Mr. Barry Park, an American engineer engaged in "Point 4" operations. Mr. Harding came down from his home in Harissa, Lebanon, to join the expeditions and to him goes in large measure the credit for whatever success was achieved. I should also like to place on record my deep appreciation of the assistance rendered by Sa'id Bey Durrah, Director of Antiquities, and by his successor, Dr. 'Awni Dajani, also by Mr. A. J. Sarazin of UNRWA and Mr. Yusef Sa'ad, Curator of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, both of whom placed tents and other equipment at our disposal. The first

expedition lasted from November 3 to 12, the second from April 13 to 25. Fifty burial cairns were found, and from the rocks around them 4000 inscriptions were recorded, many of them on film. One double cairn was excavated but nothing was found which would aid in the dating of the inscriptions. The results obtained by the expedition give ground for the belief that the whole basaltic area of northeastern Transjordan contains thousands of graffiti still to be recorded.

After returning from the first expedition Mr. Harding, while browsing around the basement of the Amman Museum, came across a fragment of a three-line Moabite inscription which mentions a hitherto unknown king of Moab. On instituting inquiries the Department of Antiquities learned that the object had come from the Kerak area but so far it has been unsuccessful in its efforts to find the missing portion. The finding of this inscription shows that the Moabites produced more than the Mesha stele and raises the hope that Moabite records may yet be found at Dhiban and other Moabite sites.

The great research project which I had planned for the year, namely, an epigraphical expedition into North Arabia, failed to materialize owing to the refusal of the Sa'udi Government to grant entrance visas. Through the good offices of the President of the Schools the interest of Tapline in the expedition had been secured, and on Jan. 23rd I flew to Beirut at the invitation of its Vice-President, Mr. W. A. Campbell, to discuss with him and other Tapline officials our plans and needs. They agreed to furnish free of charge three power-wagons and two Sa'udi driver-mechanics, and also to see that whatever supplies were needed were available at Turaif, our jumping-off place. The expedition was to leave Turaif on March 23rd and be gone for a month. The route was to be as follows: Turaif, Rafha, Ha'il, Taima', al-'Ula, Tabuk, al-Jawf, Quraiyat el-Milh, Turaif. It was hoped that such an expedition would not only find many ancient inscriptions but would also open up the way for the Schools to undertake archaeological work in North Arabia at some point such as Taima'. While the expedition failed to materialize, I should like to express my deep appreciation to the Tapline officials, especially to Mr. Campbell, for all the pains they took to make the expedition a success.

During the middle of May I undertook a journey in the desert of southern Transjordan in the company of Mr. Yusef Sa'ad. We penetrated as far as el-Jafr and the Bayir Wells but found no inscriptions. On the way back we visited Sil', a village about 8 kms. southwest of Tafila. Beyond it lie the remains of an ancient stronghold and high-place which we found to be of such a remarkable character that we were led to believe that this, rather than Petra, may mark the site of the ancient Edomite Sela'.

In February the School was saddened by the sudden death of one of its guests, Dr. Flemming Hvidberg, professor of Old Testament in the University of Copenhagen and former Minister of Education in the Danish Government. He had come to the School to rest and study, and during his brief stay had won the affection of all its members. His sudden passing, on February 20th, as the result of a heart attack, cast a shadow of gloom which was not soon dispelled. Dr. Christiansen of the Lutheran

World Federation took charge of the remains and, with the assistance of General Van Horn of the United Nations and the co-operation of the Arab authorities, the body was shipped overland through Israel to Beirut and thence flown to Copenhagen for burial.

During February the 'Aqaba road became impassable and Jordan's only fuel supply line was thereby cut. The resulting discomfort, when the central heating system of the School ceased to function, raised the question whether the fuel-oil storage capacity of the School should be increased. An estimate was obtained from a firm in Amman on the cost of installing another tank but the price quoted was so high that it is probably preferable to purchase a number of oil drums for surface storage. Renovations to School property during the year included the painting of the fence and the re-wiring of the kitchen. There are reasons for believing that all the wiring of the School may have to be replaced in the near future. The metal doors which I was authorized by the Board to install had not been installed prior to my departure owing to difficulty in securing estimates of cost. Mention should be made of a new development which is taking place at the southeast corner of the block of property on which the School stands. The house on that corner is being torn down and replaced by a two-storied structure which will contain shops. It remains to be seen how this new development will affect the School.

There are many to whom I owe a debt of gratitude for the assistance which they rendered me during the year. I should like to thank especially my colleague, Professor Marshall, for his unfailing co-operation and in particular for taking charge of many of the field trips; Professor Kuyper for the rich contribution which he made in so many ways to the life of the School; Omar and his staff for their loyalty to the interests of the School and their constant concern for the welfare and comfort of its inmates. But above all I am indebted to my wife for once again relinquishing the ties of home and family to share with me the responsibilities of office in a foreign land.

Finally I wish to express to the President, the Chairman of the Jerusalem School Committee, and the Trustees my enduring gratitude for entrusting me a second time with the direction of the Jerusalem School. It has been a high honour and a rare privilege indeed.

FRED V. WINNETT,
Director, Jerusalem School

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE SCHOOL AT BAGHDAD

To the President and Trustees of the
American Schools of Oriental Research:

The Baghdad School is currently being represented in the field by the Annual Professor for 1959-60, Dr. Bruce Howe of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. Dr. Howe is working in close conjunction with the Iranian Prehistoric Project headed by Professor Robert

Braidwood of the Oriental Institute; when he was previously Annual Professor in 1954-55 he worked with Professor Braidwood near Jarmo in Iraq. So far as I know this is the School's initial undertaking in the land that once was called Persia. Dr. Howe's first letters report the group's trip to Tehran, the establishment of relations with the Iranian Antiquities Service headed by Dr. Sadeq Samimi and with various other departments of the Iranian government, and the arrival in Kermanshah which is the base for the season's work. The Kermanshah division of the Iranian National Oil Company has already provided much help for the expedition in the form of temporary quarters, loans of equipment, service and repairs to motor vehicles and constructive advice. The U. S. Presbyterian Mission Committee has granted the use of a house in their Kermanshah compound as headquarters for this campaign. The expedition's baggage sent by sea to a Persian Gulf port has now reached Kermanshah and full scale operations consequently are possible.

Initial surveys in the general vicinity of Shahabad southwest of Kermanshah have yielded a number of caves, rock shelters, and mounds of a type to be associated with early prehistoric village periods. Many more sites, however, must be added to those already found before any clear picture of the area in the prehistoric period can be developed. Currently the survey of the Kermanshah and Mahidasht Plains is under way. We may look forward with confidence to new insights into the prehistory of the area in which Dr. Howe is working.

Mr. George Dales, Fellow of the Baghdad School for 1958-59, and I spent the summer at Hasanlu in northwest Iran. Later we travelled together as far as Shiraz in other parts of the country. Mr. Dales then made a trip to Bandar Abbas at the entrance of the Persian Gulf to explore in a preliminary way any possible archaeological connection between the valleys of the Tigris-Euphrates and the Indus. I visited the Jerusalem School under the capable direction of Professor Marvin Pope and joined a group from that School in a most informative three week's motor trip through Lebanon and Syria.

Lacking the required visa it was not possible for me to stop in Baghdad. The course of events in Iraq during the months ahead will determine whether the Joint Expedition to Nippur sponsored by the Oriental Institute and the Baghdad School can consider resumption of work at Nippur at any time in the near future, whether a longer delay will be necessary, or whether new ventures by these two institutions either jointly or separately should be undertaken at other Near Eastern sites.

The *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* continues to be a leader in its field under the editorship of Professor Albrecht Goetze, the Honorary Director of the Baghdad School. To him and to his associates, Professor Thorkild Jacobsen and Professor A. Sachs, the School and specialists in this branch of Near Eastern studies owe a continuing vote of appreciation.

VAUGHN E. CRAWFORD,
Director The Baghdad School

The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
November 17, 1959

SOUNDING IN THE GROUNDS OF THE SCHOOL IN JERUSALEM DECEMBER, 1958–APRIL, 1959

Robert J. Marshall

Early in December, 1958, the gardener was digging a hole in the front yard of the School when he came upon the remains of a stone wall a few centimeters below the surface. As his time and mine and the weather permitted, digging continued a few hours a day. There were long periods when the work was discontinued, and the only additional workman was a single basket boy. Consequently, we did not finish until the end of April, 1959. The excavation was limited by our trees, which we did not want to damage. Trenches could neither be as wide nor as neat as we should have liked (Fig. 4).

The gardener had begun in area A, had removed some flagstones in the middle of the area, and had dug below their level before he was stopped. He had uncovered the adjacent portion of wall B, running east and west, with a plastered surface (C) on the south side facing toward what appears to have been a flagstone court.

My first task was to clear wall B. Its eastern limit was reached at a point a little less than 9 meters inside the front fence and over one meter south of the north wall of the School. The western limit was not determined since the wall continued beyond the excavated area. The section uncovered measured 5.15 m. in length and about 50 cms. in width. Only a single course of stones remained, ranging from 23 to 85 cms. in length and 40 cms. in height. The blocks of stones were squared and appear to have been re-used. One block had two decorative grooves, suggesting a door jamb, although no trace of a door exists at its present location. The wall rested on the edge of a mosaic floor, the outer row of tesserae being visible immediately beneath the plaster on the south side of the wall (see Fig. 1). This indicated that the wall was of later date than the mosaic floor beneath it.

The mosaic floor was still intact over a portion of the area (D) uncovered north of the wall. Both wall and floor had been indicated on a chart of excavations made in the School grounds in 1926 (Mayer and Sukenik, *The Third Wall of Jerusalem*, Jerusalem, 1930). Though the Department of Antiquities has the original drawing on file in the Palestine Museum, no detailed report of the excavation, nor any description of the mosaic, is known to Mr. Yusef Sa'ad, curator of the museum. In part, the present excavation was conducted in order to fill this gap in the records. The mosaic is mentioned in various other publications which are listed in the catalogue prepared by M. Avi Yonah (*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, II, 1933, p. 176, No. 154), but again, no description is provided.

To describe the mosaic (Fig. 2) we may start with the border along the wall and move toward the center. (Since the wall was not removed, the pattern of that part of the mosaic which lay beneath it remains

'unknown.) First appears Avi Yonah's type A7, a stepped pattern in red ochre with black edges; then type A2, a double row of white tesserae between single rows of black; then type B3, a guilloche or basket weave of alternating red ochre, yellow ochre, and grey-blue bands, each edged with a row of white and a row of black, and finally, a repetition of type

FIG. 1. Stone wall showing plastered surface and large block of stone in the flagstone court.

A7 and type A2. The field consists basically of type H7 with sprigs of type F23, and in the center a diamond design. The colors are red ochre and black on a white ground. (For the discussion of Avi Yonah's types, cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-141.)

The mosaics which resemble the combination of designs in the School mosaic appear in Avi Yonah's catalogue as numbers 23, 104, 107*, 108,

113*, 125, 141*, 151, 157*, 158 (*Ibid.*, pp. 136-181), 301, 344, 346, and 347 (*QDAP*, III, 1934, pp. 40-54). Asterisks indicate the examples with the greatest similarity. The remains of the old mosaic in St. Etienne Church at the Ecole Biblique, No. 57 in the catalogue, is almost identical with the mosaic uncovered in our excavation. The tesserae at St. Etienne are smaller; those at the American School measure just less than 1.5 cm. on each side. Sukenik also discovered a similar mosaic in the ruins of a Byzantine building west of Nablus Road during excavations of the "Third Wall" (*op. cit.*, p. 39, fig. 31, upper half). Mosaics of this pattern have been dated as early as Roman times and as late as pre-Crusader Arab times; but where adequate criteria exist, a fifth or

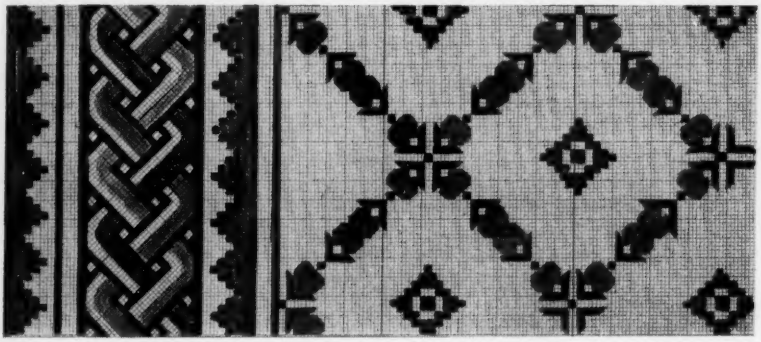

FIG. 2.

sixth century date seems to be established. Since such mosaics generally mark the sites of ancient churches, there is a strong possibility that a small Byzantine church stood on part of the American School property.

We did not ascertain the exact limits of the mosaic. We know that it does not extend beyond the wall to the south. It continued beyond the west edge of the excavation but a pit (E) dug less than a meter beyond that edge, showed no mosaic. It also continued further north along the west edge of the excavation, but was missing at the end of the north trench (H). To the east, the pavement on which the tesserae had been laid extended farther than our dig, but the tesserae had broken away except in Area D.

A heap of large stones (G) at the east end of the excavation could have come from upper courses of the wall. When these were removed, the cement for the mosaic was found intact, but no tesserae remained. It was decided to dig deeper at this point in a pit one meter square in the hope that evidence could be found for dating the mosaic floor. The cement was only about half a cm. thick. Below it loose cement of ash (containing bits of oxidized material) and lime formed a layer 2-3 cm. thick. Then a layer of stones laid in the same kind of loose cement formed a layer about 6 cm. thick. Finally, a layer of gravel served as

bedding for the floor. The ground beneath proved to be fill probably brought in at the time the church (?) was built.

The most interesting small find was a coin of Herod Agrippa I, with the usual fringed umbrella on the obverse and the three heads of grain on the reverse. On the obverse, part of Agrippa's name is visible; and

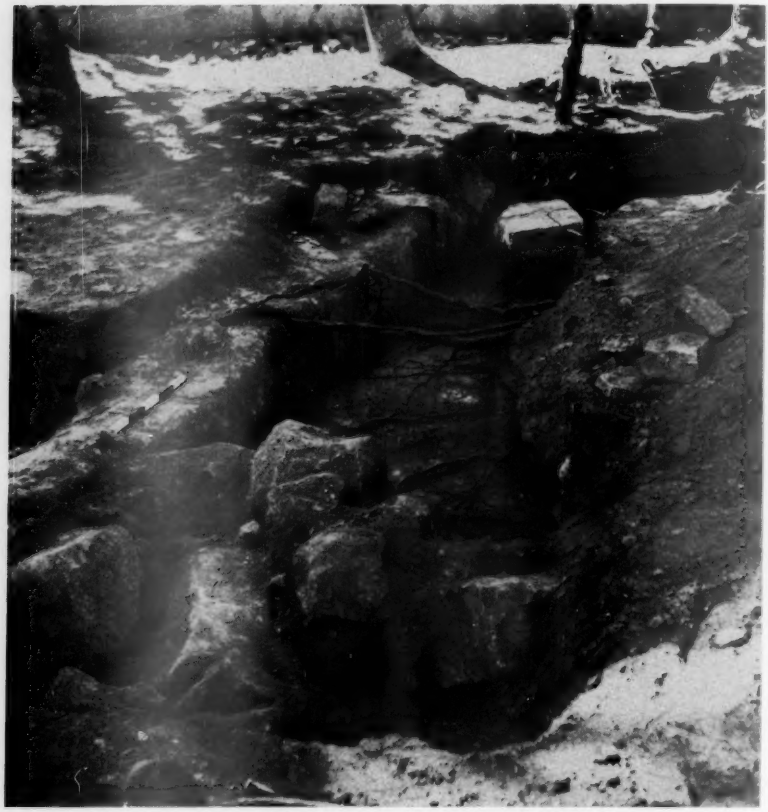

FIG. 3. Looking west along the stone wall in the area where the mosaic was found intact. The heap of large stones at the east end of the excavation is in the foreground.

on the reverse, the usual formula dates the coin to the year 42 A. D. The pottery contained only a few fragments including Roman sigillata and ribbed Byzantine ware.

At 90 cm. below the mosaic we struck another floor, composed of stones not more than 15 cm. across. Since they had not been finished

in any way, the floor was quite rough. There were two lower layers of similar stones which were held together by the same loose cement as noted at a higher level beneath the mosaic pavement. The three layers totaled 30 cm. in height and rested on bed-rock.

Since our excavation was in line with Sukenik's "Third Wall" which he discovered just outside the School grounds both to the east and to the west, we had hoped to find some evidence of the huge stones of that wall. With this in mind, we started a trench (H) from the northwest

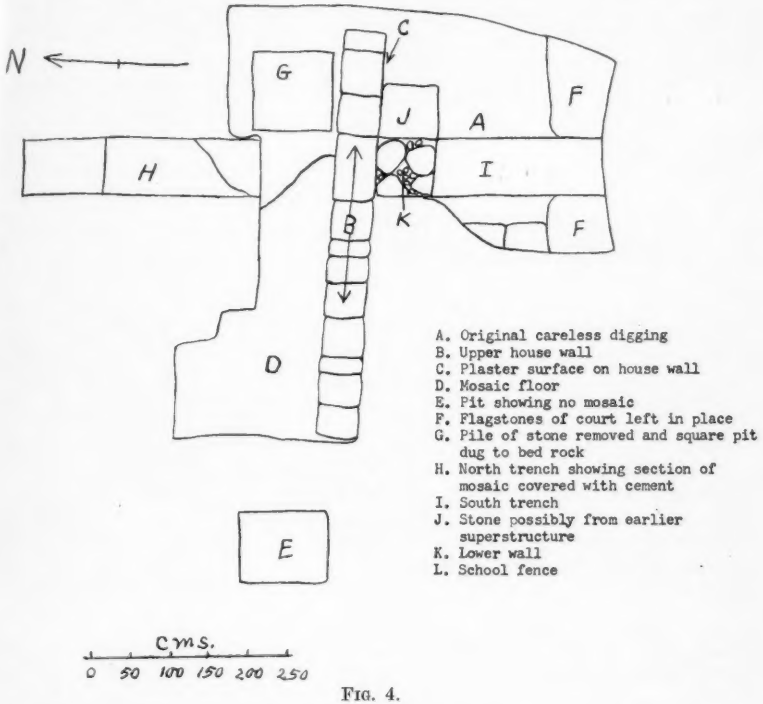

FIG. 4.

corner of the pit (G) that had been dug to bed-rock. The trench was 70 cm. wide and reached 3 meters north from the pit. In part of the trench the mosaic reappeared, but it had been covered with plaster. Even where the mosaic was missing, the stone and loose plaster bedding still existed. We also found the same fill and the lower floor resting on bed-rock. If the "Third Wall" passed this way, its traces had been eradicated by later construction, unless the lower floor served rooms connected with that wall.

We also dug a trench (I) which extended 3 meters south from wall B. This area

had not been excavated in 1926. The south trench was in line with the north trench. The two trenches together with the meter-square pit gave us a cross-section which ran north and south for more than 7 meters. In the south trench we were digging beneath the flagstone court which probably belonged to the plastered house wall B. We immediately came upon a lower wall which ran parallel to the upper wall and was about 70 cm. wide. The lower wall could have served as the foundation for the church (?), since its inner side would have been flush with the outside edge of the mosaic floor. As the lower wall was just outside the upper wall, the two had no relationship to each other. The face of the lower wall that was visible in the south trench was roughly even, but the stones had not been squared and the spaces between large stones had been filled with smaller stones. There was no evidence of mortar of any type. The wall rested on a bed of smaller stones. In this bed there was slight evidence of ashy plaster. Whether the bed represented the lower floor

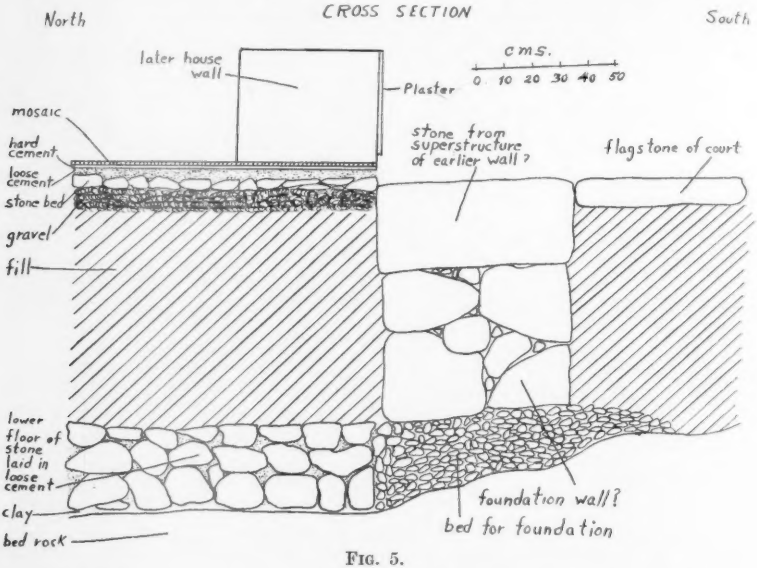

FIG. 5.

discovered in pit G and trench H was not completely clear. The foundation bed seemed to be of a different composition from the floor and was not as thick as the latter.

Mention should be made of one block (J), measuring 70 × 70 cm., which at first appeared to be a flagstone like the others in the courtyard but which was discovered to be 30 cm. thick. It lay immediately on top of the lower wall and could indicate the type of stone blocks used in the superstructure of the church. Since the block was difficult to move, it may have been left in place when the house was built, and had been used as part of the courtyard pavement.

The pottery in the north and in the south trenches resembled that in the meter-square pit, and thus provides only an approximate date for the mosaic floor and the house wall. Since the pottery was found in fill, there is no certainty as to where it came from. No pottery was found in or under the lower floor level in the meter-square pit and the north trench, nor in or under the lower wall in the south trench. Consequently,

the date for both constructions remains unknown. Further light might be shed by more extensive excavation.

To summarize, a floor level of unknown date rests upon bed-rock. A rough wall also rises from bedrock, probably near the extremity of the rough floor, but the two are probably not connected. Because of its position in relation to the mosaic floor at a higher level, the rough wall probably served as the foundation for the building, most likely a church, which contained the mosaic. This building may be dated by the mosaic to the fifth or sixth century A. D. Its destruction is doubtless to be attributed to Persian or Arab invaders in the seventh century. Sometime afterward, a house was built with one of its walls resting on the edge of the mosaic. This house was plastered on the side to the south which faced a courtyard paved with stones.

THE NEOLITHIC POTTERY OF PALESTINE

J. KAPLAN

Down to the year 1950 only three sites containing Neolithic pottery had been discovered in Israel and Jordan, and at each the pottery differed from that found at the others. These sites were Jericho, Abu Usba' on Mount Carmel and Sha'ar ha-Golan in the Jordan Valley on the north bank of the Yarmuk.[1] Since then, additional sites have been discovered and excavated, while the excavations have been continued at Jericho and Sha'ar ha-Golan. At all these sites hardly any pottery has been found of a type not already known down to 1950, but the stratigraphical conditions in which the new material was found possess great importance. The following is the list of sites in the order of their discovery, accompanied by a table showing the stratigraphical conditions at each site: 1. Jericho (1935-6) [2]; 2. Abu Usba' [3]; 3. Sha'ar ha-Golan [4];

[1] The first to attempt to summarize Palestinian Neolithic pottery down to 1937 was G. E. Wright, *The Pottery of Palestine from the Earliest Times to the End of the Early Bronze Age*, New Haven (1937), pp. 7-14. The second summary was made in 1952 at a seminar held under the auspices of the Israel Exploration Society at Jerusalem: *BIES* 15 (1952), pp. 1-49 (Heb.).

[2] J. Garstang and others, *Jericho: City and Necropolis*, Liverpool *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, XXII (1935), pp. 143 ff.; XXIII (1936), pp. 67 ff.

[3] M. Stekelis, "Preliminary Report on Soundings in Prehistoric Caves in Palestine," *BASOR* 86 (1942), pp. 2-10; *id.*, Further Observations on the Chronology of Magharet Abu Usba'," *ibid.*, 89 (1943), pp. 22-24; *id.*, "Excavations in Palestine and Transjordan, 1944: I. Prehistoric Caves," *Quart. Dept. Antiq. Palest.*, II (1944), pp. 115-118; *id.* and C. Haas, "The Abu Usba' Cave (Mount Carmel)," *IEJ* 2 (1952), pp. 15 ff.

[4] M. Stekelis, "A New Neolithic Industry: The Yarmukian of Palestine," *IEJ* 1 (1951), pp. 1-19; *id.*, "Two more Yarmukian Figurines," *IEJ* 2 (1952), pp. 216-217; *id.*: "The Stratigraphy of the Yarmukian Culture" (Heb.), *BIES* 18 (1954), pp. 185 ff.; *IEJ* 3 (1953), p. 132.

had not been excavated in 1926. The south trench was in line with the north trench. The two trenches together with the meter-square pit gave us a cross-section which ran north and south for more than 7 meters. In the south trench we were digging beneath the flagstone court which probably belonged to the plastered house wall B. We immediately came upon a lower wall which ran parallel to the upper wall and was about 70 cm. wide. The lower wall could have served as the foundation for the church (?), since its inner side would have been flush with the outside edge of the mosaic floor. As the lower wall was just outside the upper wall, the two had no relationship to each other. The face of the lower wall that was visible in the south trench was roughly even, but the stones had not been squared and the spaces between large stones had been filled with smaller stones. There was no evidence of mortar of any type. The wall rested on a bed of smaller stones. In this bed there was slight evidence of ashy plaster. Whether the bed represented the lower floor

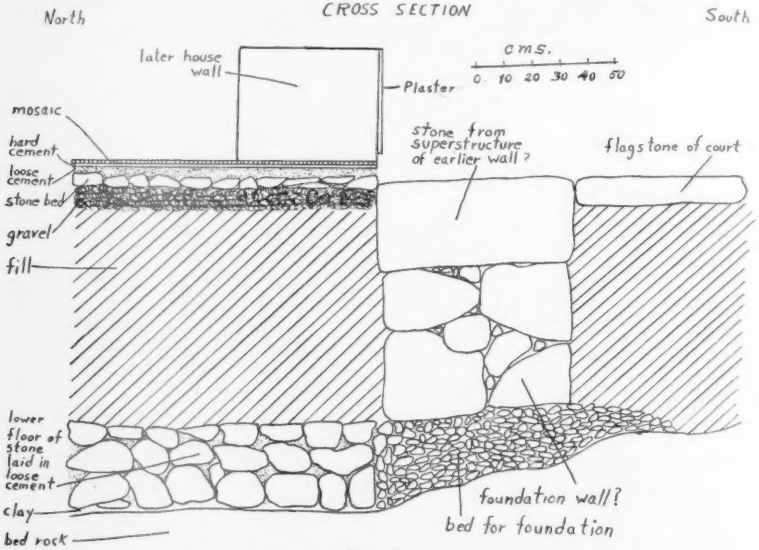

FIG. 5.

discovered in pit G and trench H was not completely clear. The foundation bed seemed to be of a different composition from the floor and was not as thick as the latter.

Mention should be made of one block (J), measuring 70 × 70 cm., which at first appeared to be a flagstone like the others in the courtyard but which was discovered to be 30 cm. thick. It lay immediately on top of the lower wall and could indicate the type of stone blocks used in the superstructure of the church. Since the block was difficult to move, it may have been left in place when the house was built, and had been used as part of the courtyard pavement.

The pottery in the north and in the south trenches resembled that in the meter-square pit, and thus provides only an approximate date for the mosaic floor and the house wall. Since the pottery was found in fill, there is no certainty as to where it came from. No pottery was found in or under the lower floor level in the meter-square pit and the north trench, nor in or under the lower wall in the south trench. Consequently,

the date for both constructions remains unknown. Further light might be shed by more extensive excavation.

To summarize, a floor level of unknown date rests upon bed-rock. A rough wall also rises from bedrock, probably near the extremity of the rough floor, but the two are probably not connected. Because of its position in relation to the mosaic floor at a higher level, the rough wall probably served as the foundation for the building, most likely a church, which contained the mosaic. This building may be dated by the mosaic to the fifth or sixth century A. D. Its destruction is doubtless to be attributed to Persian or Arab invaders in the seventh century. Sometime afterward, a house was built with one of its walls resting on the edge of the mosaic. This house was plastered on the side to the south which faced a courtyard paved with stones.

THE NEOLITHIC POTTERY OF PALESTINE

J. KAPLAN

Down to the year 1950 only three sites containing Neolithic pottery had been discovered in Israel and Jordan, and at each the pottery differed from that found at the others. These sites were Jericho, Abu Usba' on Mount Carmel and Sha'ar ha-Golan in the Jordan Valley on the north bank of the Yarmuk.[1] Since then, additional sites have been discovered and excavated, while the excavations have been continued at Jericho and Sha'ar ha-Golan. At all these sites hardly any pottery has been found of a type not already known down to 1950, but the stratigraphical conditions in which the new material was found possess great importance. The following is the list of sites in the order of their discovery, accompanied by a table showing the stratigraphical conditions at each site: 1. Jericho (1935-6) [2]; 2. Abu Usba' [3]; 3. Sha'ar ha-Golan [4];

[1] The first to attempt to summarize Palestinian Neolithic pottery down to 1937 was G. E. Wright, *The Pottery of Palestine from the Earliest Times to the End of the Early Bronze Age*, New Haven (1937), pp. 7-14. The second summary was made in 1952 at a seminar held under the auspices of the Israel Exploration Society at Jerusalem: *BIES* 15 (1952), pp. 1-49 (Heb.).

[2] J. Garstang and others, *Jericho: City and Necropolis*, Liverpool *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, XXII (1935), pp. 143 ff.; XXIII (1936), pp. 67 ff.

[3] M. Stekelis, "Preliminary Report on Soundings in Prehistoric Caves in Palestine," *BASOR* 86 (1942), pp. 2-10; *id.*, Further Observations on the Chronology of Magharet Abu Usba'," *ibid.*, 89 (1943), pp. 22-24; *id.*, "Excavations in Palestine and Transjordan, 1944: I. Prehistoric Caves," *Quart. Dept. Antiq. Palest.*, II (1944), pp. 115-118; *id.* and C. Haas, "The Abu Usba' Cave (Mount Carmel)," *IEJ* 2 (1952), pp. 15 ff.

[4] M. Stekelis, "A New Neolithic Industry: The Yarmukian of Palestine," *IEJ* 1 (1951), pp. 1-19; *id.*, "Two more Yarmukian Figurines," *IEJ* 2 (1952), pp. 216-217; *id.*: "The Stratigraphy of the Yarmukian Culture" (Heb.), *BIES* 18 (1954), pp. 185 ff.; *IEJ* 3 (1953), p. 132.

4. Tel-Aviv (Bashan Street) [5]; 5. Jericho (1952-57) [6]; 6. Teluliyot Batashi [7] Khirbet Sheikh 'Ali [8]; 8. Kfar Gil'adi [9] (see Table).

Our purpose here, therefore, is to summarize the material which has accumulated down to the present, although most of the final reports of these excavations have not yet been published. It will also be useful to discuss here the finds at Abu Usba' first, since differences of opinion have existed concerning them ever since their appearance, and some apparently deny these finds the right of belonging to the Neolithic period, as we shall see below.

The Neolithic finds of Abu Usba' were discovered by Prof. M. Stekelis in Stratum B of the Abu Usba' cave, under remains of Roman and modern times. With the ceramic remains were flint tools and traces of fauna belonging to the last period of the Mesolithic Upper Natufian phase. On the strength of the fact that the pottery was found together with the flint tools and ancient fauna, the excavator ascribed the general complex of finds to the older phase of the Neolithic period, since the appearance of pottery is attributable to the Neolithic period only and is so far unknown in the Natufian epoch.[10] Professor Albright was the first to express doubts with regard to this early dating of the Abu Usba' pottery, and dated it to the Chalcolithic period. According to his first dating, this find belonged to the period intermediate between Jericho VIII and Ghassul—the two chief phases of the Chalcolithic period. Later he tried other possibilities, but none of them departed from the framework of the Chalcolithic era.[11]

The pottery of the Abu Usba' cave was lost, as is well known, while being sent from Palestine to the U. S. A. during the Second World War. Our entire knowledge of this Neolithic phase is derived, therefore, from Stekelis's report in *BASOR* (1942), 86, and from his summary article in *IEJ* 2. In the first publication he gave a photograph of typical sherds and another of flint tools (*ibid.*, fig. 5); in the second there appeared

[5] At ha-Bashan Street, Tel-Aviv, the writer has found under a Chalcolithic (pre-Jericho VIII) Stratum, later called the "Wadi Rabah" phase, a Yarmukian settlement in pits; and besides pottery resembling that of Sha'ar ha-Golan, flint implements and clay figurines of the fertility goddess were discovered—J. Kaplan, "Archaeological Survey on the Left Bank of the Yarkon River," *Eretz-Israel* II (1953), p. 159, pl. XIX, I (Heb.).

[6] Kathleen M. Kenyon, "Excavations at Jericho, 1952," *PEQ* (1952), pp. 4 ff. and 62 ff.; (1953), pp. 81 ff.; (1954), pp. 45 ff.; (1955), pp. 108 ff.; (1956), pp. 67 ff.; (1957), pp. 101 ff.

[7] J. Kaplan, "The Excavations at Teluliyot Batashi in the Vale of Sorek," *Eretz-Israel* V (1958), pp. 9-24 (Heb.), and an English Summary, pp. 83-84.

[8] The site is situated in the Jordan Valley in the fields of the village of Alumoth, south of Tiberias; see my brief sketch in *IEJ* 5 (1955), p. 271. The author is indebted to Mr. M. Prausnitz for putting the finds at his disposal. Cf. also *IEJ* 8 (1958), p. 160, n. 27.

[9] The site is situated north of Kfar-Gil'adi and west of Tell Abil (probably the Biblical Abel Beth-Maacha) in the extreme north of Israel. See for a brief sketch, *BIES* 22 (1958), p. 98 (Heb.).

[10] *IEJ* 2 (1952), p. 33.

[11] W. F. Albright, "Observations on the Date of the Pottery-bearing Stratum of Magharet Abu Usba'," *BASOR* 86 (1942), pp. 10-14; *id.*; "Remarks on Dr. Stekelis's Late Prehistoric Chronology," *ibid.*, 89 (1943), pp. 24-25.

JERICHO 1935 - 1936	ABU USBA' 1940	SHA'AR ha= GOLAN 1950 - 1952	TEL=AVIV (Basban Street) 1950 - 1952	JERICHO 1952 - 1957	TELLILIOT BATASHI 1955	KH. SHEIKH= 'ALI 1955	KFAR GIL'ADI 1957
STRATUM VII Early Bronze		STRATUM A Early Bronze	STRATUM I Early Bronze		STRATUM II Early Bronze	Esdraelon	STRATUM I Early Bronze
	Chalcolithic (Ghassulian III)				STRATUM III (a,b) Chalcolithic (Ghassulian)	STRATUM ? Chalcolithic (Ghassulian)	STRATUM II Chalcolithic (Ghassulian)
STRATUM VIII Chalcolithic (Jerichoan)		STRATUM B NIL		Chalcolithic (Jerichoan VIII)			
part			STRATUM II Chalcolithic (Wadi Rabahan)	part	STRATUM III Chalcolithic (Wadi Rabahan)	Chalcolithic ? (Wadi Rabahan)	
Neolithic (Yarmukian)		Neolithic (Yarmukian)	STRATUM III Neolithic (Yarmukian)	PERIOD B Neolithic (Yarmukian)		STRATUM ? Neolithic (Yarmukian)	STRATUM III Neolithic (Yarmukian)
STRATUM IX Neolithic (Jerichoan)				PERIOD A Neolithic (Jerichoan IX)	STRATUM IV (a,b) Neolithic (Jerichoan IX)		
		STRATUM C Neolithic (Yarmukian)					
	STRATUM B Neolithic (Usbian)						

drawings of part of the pottery published in the photograph and a large number of drawings of the flint implements (*ibid.*, fig. 16). The photograph of the pottery is of interest to us here, since it is the sole relic that remains of the ceramic material. In this photograph (*BASOR* 86) four groups of sherds stand out. In the upper rows appears a number of sherds on which decoration in incised with a herringbone motif, also a number of rims and fragments of a flat loophandle. The right-hand (lower) portion of the photograph contains bases of pots, whereas the left-hand portion contains two large fragments not noticed by scholars hitherto. These two fragments belong, in our view, to Chalcolithic ossuaries of the type first discovered in Palestine by Professor E. L. Sukenik at Hedera in the Sharon plain,[12] and subsequently by J. Ory at Bnei Braq near Tel-Aviv.[13] On the lower part of these fragments are seen red and white painted bands of decoration (the red bands appear as black in the picture), also a decorative fingerprinted band. All these are characteristic of the ornamentation of ossuaries in this country. It is to be noted that clay ossuaries have been hitherto unknown in the Palestinian Neolithic, and we add that the shape of the herringbone motifs on the pottery fragments in the upper rows of the photograph greatly resembles those of Ghassul II-III and Jericho VIII,[14] while the fragmentary loophandle and the two flat rim-fragments in the second and third row, are characteristic of Ghassul, so there is no doubt that we have here a Chalcolithic find belonging, as Albright believed, to the period between Ghassul and Jericho VIII. To strengthen this conclusion, we now have before us details of the result of our excavations on a Chalcolithic site in Tel-Aviv in the years 1950-53. The site is known as Giv'at Bet ha-Mitbahayim ("Abbatoir Hill"); caves here yielded, *inter alia*, sherds decorated with the herringbone motif, together with fragments of clay ossuaries to which human bones still adhered, but such fragments have also apparently been discovered in pits serving as habitations.[15] Traces of similar finds seem to have been noticed also in the cave of Umm Qatafah in the Judean Desert.[16]

This association of Chalcolithic occupation in caves containing fragmentary clay ossuaries used for burial is not therefore uncommon in this country, hence the conclusion that the Abu Usba' pottery is not Neolithic, but Chalcolithic. It remains for us, then, to discuss two Neolithic phases only: that of Jericho IX and that of Sha'ar ha-Golan, known as the "Yarmukian." But before proceeding with the discussion, we should add that at Lydda we recovered in 1952 a large haul of Neolithic pottery of the type of Jericho IX. These remains, being near the surface, had not remained intact, but were mixed with later Chalcolithic and Bronze Age material.[17] We find it necessary to mention it here, since this

[12] E. L. Sukenik, "A Chalcolithic Necropolis at Hadera," *JPOS* XVII (1931), pp. 15 ff.
[13] J. Ory, "A Chalcolithic Necropolis at Bnei-Braq," *QDAP* XII (1946), pp. 43 ff.
[14] A. Mallon and others, *Teleilat Ghassul*, I (Rome, 1934), fig. 60, 3, 4; *AAA* XXIII, pl. 33, 18.
[15] See my brief skech in *Bull. Dept. Ant. Israel*, V (1957), pp. 39-40 (Heb.).
[16] J. Perrot, *IEJ* 5 (1955), p. 180, note 41.
[17] See my brief sketch, *op. cit.* (above n. 15), p. 39 (Heb.).

discovery, together with the stratified sites above mentioned (see table), enables us to check the finds previously made at Jericho and Sha'ar ha-Golan in localities far removed from their first find-spot, and to appraise the correctness of the initial observations made concerning them. We should also add here that our discussion will be mainly concerned with parts of vessels and with styles of decoration of pottery, since the number of complete Neolithic vessels so far discovered is extremely small.[18] When the finds of Jericho IX are compared with those of the Yarmukian, we see that each exhibits individual traits characteristic of itself which are not yet found in the other; they are therefore of great potential aid for the knowledge of each phase. In both phases are found roughly-shaped flat or round loop-handles, but in the Yarmukian phase is found the horizontal loop-handle absent at Jericho IX; on the other hand at Jericho IX the cylindrical knob-handle is found, absent in the Yarmukian phase.[19] As to the bases, at Jericho ring-bases are found, absent in the Yarmukian phase, whereas in the latter are found disc-bases and mat-impressions, absent from Jericho.[20] But the greatest difference between the two phases is the style of decoration. Despite the fact that in both phases the main decorative motif is the zigzag band surrounding the vessels, this differs in each respective site in details of execution.

At Jericho the zigzag band was first demarcated with a fine brush by two parallel lines in light or dark red paint, and the space between them was filled by painting in thinner paint; generally these fine lines and the area between them undergo a process of burnishing and so became shiny,[21] whereas the Yarmukian zigzag band is more complex, being made by the incision of two fine parallel lines, the surface between which is filled with a herringbone pattern also executed by incision. Sometimes the two parallel incised lines are painted in two bands drawn with a brush and sometimes, instead of the herringbone pattern, is found a filling of simple incised lines.[22] We have already seen that the herringbone pattern is also used as decoration at Jericho VIII and Ghassul III-II, and this frequently causes a certain confusion. It

[18] The only jar found in Jericho IX (*AAA* XXIII, pl. 29, 2), whose loop-handles are below the shoulder, does not belong to Jericho IX, in our opinion, but to Stratum VIII. Neolithic handles are always, to the best of our knowledge, above the shoulder of the vessel; furthermore, it was found in Zone 188 at a level of 8.05 m. which is the upper part of Stratum VIII in this zone. If we compare it with jars of this type found at el-'Adeimeh near Teleilat Ghassul, we will see how strong is the resemblance—M. Stekelis, *Les monuments mégalithiques de Palestine* (Paris, 1932), p. 73, fig. 19, i, k, p, t.

[19] Stekelis, *op. cit.* (above, no. 4), pl. 2, 9; *AAA* XXIII, pl. 30, 9.

[20] *AAA* XXIII, p. 81, pl. 31, 2, 3; Stekelis, *op. cit.* (above, n. 4), pp. 13, 15 and pl. 2, 3. It may be remarked that the examples given in nn. 19-20 were found again in Bashan Street (Yarmukian), at Lydda and in Teluliyot Batashi (Jerichoan), strengthening our assumption that they are typical of different phases.

[21] The specimen in Jericho, *AAA* XXIII, pl. 31, 16 and many other examples discovered at Lydda and at Teluliyot Batashi, *op. cit.* (above n. 7), fig. 9, 4, 8, 10, 11, clearly confirm our own manner of describing the zigzag-pattern technique of decoration on Jericho IX pottery, against the view that the Jerichoan pottery painted the entire pot, leaving "reserved" surfaces for the zigzag pattern (*AAA* XXIII, p. 81; Kathleen M. Kenyon, *Digging Up Jericho* [London, 1957], p. 79).

[22] Stekelis, *op. cit.* (above, n. 4), pl. 1.

is proper to stress, therefore, the fundamental distinction between the different uses of this motif in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic respectively. In the Yarmukian phase the pattern is part of the filling between the lines which create the zigzag band, whereas at Jericho VIII or Ghassul it is independent ornamentation surrounding the vessel in a band or bands and not in a zigzag pattern.[23] After having realized the traits by which the Jericho IX and Yarmukian pottery may be recognized, we are now in a position to identify typologically the sites in which Neolithic material, hardly noticed hitherto, has been mixed with the remaining finds. As an example we may here cite Stratum XX at Megiddo. An examination of the finds from this stratum shows that it contains mainly a mixture of Chalcolithic and Neolithic finds. The Yarmukian finds are especially prominent among the Neolithic,[24] less so those of Jericho IX.[25] Traces of Yarmukian finds at Tell el-Far'ah near Shechem should also be mentioned.[26] We may proceed now to the elucidation of the basic problem as to which of the two is the more ancient. Stekelis, on the strength of a comparison of the flint implements of the Yarmukian phase and those of Jericho IX, stated that the Yarmukian pottery was earlier than that of Jericho IX.[27] But this statement finds no support in stratigraphy; actually we have two stratigraphic facts whose evidence points in a different direction. As is well known, at Jericho a number of sherds with Yarmukian decoration were found and were associated with Stratum VIII,[28] owing to lack of knowledge at that time (1936) of the existence of the Yarmukian phase. The herringbone pattern on them suggested the similar motif found in Jericho VIII. It is probable that the Yarmukian occupation here was temporary and without permanent building; at any rate it is clear that these sherds were not found under Stratum IX. This fact was reconfirmed by our excavation at Teluliyot Batashi in 1955. Here again a number of Yarmukian potsherds were unearthed in the Chalcolithic Stratum III ("Wadi Rabah phase").

But additional proof of the place of the Yarmukian pottery in relation to Jericho IX has now been furnished by the excavations of Dr. Kenyon at Jericho itself; here two Neolithic periods involving the use of pottery were distinguished—"Neolithic period A," which corresponds to Garstang's Jericho IX, and "Neolithic Period B," which is later than the first, corresponding to the Yarmukian of Sha'ar ha-Golan and including also Jericho VIII.[29] Others have disputed this combination of Yarmukian

[23] See above, n. 14, and Kaplan, *op. cit.* (above, n. 7), fig. 10, 11, 14 and fig. 11, 12; *id.*, The Excavations at Wadi Rabah, *IEJ* 8 (1958), p. 157, fig. 6, 1, 2, 6. Horizontal bands of the herringbone pattern are also to be found among Yarmukian pottery, but these are part of the bands running round the neck of the vessel, and resemble the top of the zigzag pattern.

[24] G. Loud, *Megiddo* II (Chicago, 1946), pl. 2, 37-42; cf. Stekelis, *op. cit.* (above, n. 4) pl. 1.

[25] *Megiddo* II, pl. 1, 14, 15, 30, cf. Kaplan, *op. cit.* (above n. 7), fig. 9, 3, 6 and fig. 8, 21.

[26] R. de Vaux and A. M. Steve, "La première campagne de fouilles à Tell el-Far'ah près Naplouse," *RB* LIV (1947), p. 406, fig. 1, 34.

[27] Stekelis, *op. cit.* (above, n. 4), pp. 18-19.

[28] *AAA* XXIII, pl. 33, 13-16.

[29] Kathleen M. Kenyon, "Jericho and its Setting in Near Eastern History," *Antiquity*, No. 120 (1956), p. 190; *id.*, *Digging up Jericho*, pp. 85-86.

Neolithic and the Chalcolithic of Jericho VIII.[30] It seems probable that Dr. Kenyon, like Garstang before her, is dealing with a mixed series of finds; we have mentioned above that in our view Garstang combined his few "Yarmukian" sherds with the finds of Jericho VIII, whereas Dr. Kenyon does the opposite, combining Jericho VIII with the "Yarmukian." The proof which she adduces from Byblos A is inadequate, since the Byblos A finds were themselves mixed; in our opinion they contain Yarmukian Neolithic and "Wadi Rabah" Chalcolithic objects.[31] As stated above, the ceramic material from Sha'ar ha-Golan was rediscovered in unmixed form at the bottom of the pits in Bashan Street, Tel-Aviv (above, no. 5), and these two sites enable us to recognize Yarmukian pottery without such Chalcolithic elements as the "bow rim," herringbone decoration in its Chalcolithic form and more especially black burnish, all of which are characteristic of Wadi Rabah.[32] Consequently there is no doubt that "Neolithic period B" is mixed. But the importance of Dr. Kenyon's discovery undoubtedly lies in the fact that it once again proves that the Yarmukian pottery is later than of Jericho IX, contrary to the opinion of Stekelis, who first recognized it as Neolithic pottery. It is now appropriate to mention the results of the excavations at Teluliyot Batashi, in which we were able to uncover two strata of Neolithic pottery. In the upper, IVa, pottery identical with Jericho IX pottery decorated with red-burnished zigzag patterns around the vessel, was found, and in the lower, IVb, this type of decorated pottery was entirely absent and burnishing was carried out on unslipped surface.[33] In Stratum IVb were also found a number of sherds with dark-faced burnish, a technique known in Phases A-C of Syria-Cilicia and the 'Amuq.[34] Now that the present writer has disclosed "dark-faced" burnished pottery in a Yarmukian Neolithic stratum in 1957 near Kfar Gil'adi in northern Israel,[35] he has reached the conclusion that this burnishing technique is characteristic of the Neolithic epoch as a whole, or more correctly of primitive cultures as a whole.[36] Hence this "dark-faced" burnish is not to be regarded as a means of correlation with Syrian Neolithic, as he wrote in his report on the excavations of Teluliyot Batashi.[37]

In summing up the discussion we should note the results arrived at:

a) The pottery from Abu Usba' is not the oldest in the country; it is to be placed among the phases of Ghassulian pottery.

b) Only two main Neolithic phases have become known in the pottery of Palestine up to now: the "Yarmukian" and the older Jericho IX; the

[30] Robert J. Braidwood, *Antiquity*, No. 122 (1957), pp 78-81; Kenyon, *ibid.*, pp. 82-84.

[31] M. Dunand, *RB*, 1950, pp. 583 ff.

[32] Kaplan, *op. cit.* (above, n. 23),, pp. 154, 159-160.

[33] Kaplan, *op. cit.* (above, n. 7), p. 83.

[34] Robert J. Braidwood, "A Tentative Relative Chronology of Syria from the Terminal Food-gathering Stage to ca. 2000 B.C." in E. Ehrich, ed., *Relative Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* (Chicago, 1954), pp. 37-38 and fig. 1.

[35] Kaplan, *op. cit.* (above, No. 9), p. 98.

[36] See J. Garstang, *Prehistoric Mersin* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 22-25.

[37] *Op. cit.* (above No. 7), p. 83.

latter can be henceforth subdivided into two secondary phases: Batashi IVa (upper) and Batashi IVb (lower).

c) Jericho VIII should not be combined with the Yarmukian Neolithic, nor is the Wadi Rabah material to be so combined, as seems to have occurred in Byblos A. "Jericho VIII" and "Wadi Rabah" constitute distinct Chalcolithic phases.

THE SIXTH SEASON AT DOTHAN

JOSEPH P. FREE

The sixth season of excavating at the site of ancient Dothan, 10 kilometers south of Jenin in Jordan, continued from early April, 1959, until the third week in May. To sum up, before proceeding to details, we continued uncovering the tenth-ninth century B. C. administrative building (Fig. 1), on the southwest corner of the mound, first discovered in the 1958 season (L area, level 1-B).[1] We also uncovered more of the early eighth century B. C. level (Fig. 1; level 1-A), which we discovered last year[2] in fragmentary remains just above the main level of the tenth-ninth century administrative building. As we progressed to the north on top of the mound, we found two more levels above the 1-B and 1-A levels, one a later eighth century level which we termed 1-A^a, and above that still farther to the north an eighth-seventh century level, level 1-A^b, which evidently constituted the remains of the rebuilding of Dothan after the final Assyrian invasion of 724-721 B. C.

We also excavated again on the western slope, where we found more of the earlier Iron Age walls, and on the lower slope, where we worked on the Early Bronze Age city walls. On the lower slope several meters below the surface, we came upon a slab of stone against a vertical rock cut doorway, and just four days before the scheduled termination of digging found pottery vessels inside the doorway which proved it to be an Iron I tomb. Even though the ceiling of the tomb had collapsed, by clearing some of the dirt and fallen rock we could enter about a meter and were able to recover some fifty whole and partially preserved bowls and other pottery (Fig. 2) before sealing the tomb with reinforced concrete to await another season. Now to some of the details of the 1959 season!

In the L area we continued excavating toward the north and found several more rooms as well as main walls of the administrative building (Fig. 1). The No. 7 storage jars[3] continued to appear, along with

[1] This is the structure referred to in last year's report (1958) as the "L area building"; see BULLETIN 152, pp. 10-13, 18. For summary reports of the excavation at Dothan for the first four seasons, see the October issues of the BULLETIN for 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956 (Nos. 131, 135, 139, 143).

[2] In the light of this year's excavation (1959), level 1-A appears to be 8th century B. C., rather than 8th-7th, as indicated in BULLETIN 152, p. 12.

[3] For these storage jars, see BULLETIN 152, p. 12 and Fig. 1.

quantities of wheat and some olive pits, further supporting the earlier indications that this may have been the local center for collecting taxes in wheat and other commodities in the period of the Monarchy.[4]

In addition to two larger areas in the administrative building where the walls had largely been robbed, we found eight smaller rooms with walls intact to a height of more than a meter (Fig. 1). Two of these smaller rooms, averaging nearly 7½ × 15 feet (2.25 × 4.50 meters), contained quantities of charred wheat and ash. At least one[5] was evi-

FIG. 1. Northeast corner of L area administrative building, showing 10th-9th century B. C. walls and level 1-B at right and lower center, and re-use with flagstone floor a meter higher, level 1-A, 8th century, upper center.

dently used as one of the kitchens for the large building; it had a well preserved floor level with the remains of many bowls and dishes, including six whole dipper juglets and a clay brick hearth with bowls still resting on the ashes of the fire. The partition walls of these smaller rooms averaged two feet (60 cms.) in thickness, the main partition walls over 27 inches (70 cms.), and the main walls of this L area administrative building nearly four feet (113 cms.) in thickness (Fig. 1).

[4] BULLETIN 152, p. 12.
[5] Room 4 in sub-area L-13, level 1-B.

The L area administrative building suffered destruction in the ninth century B. C. (or early 8th), and was rebuilt and re-used. This level of re-use (level 1-A) is very clear, with stone floors a meter above the 1-B level in some rooms (Fig. 1) and the addition of storage chambers in other parts. A small room [6] scarcely two meters square, added in the 1-A rebuilding, suggests either the beginning of a stairway to the second floor, or a guard or storage room. A few meters to the east a larger room [7] was added in the 1-A rebuilding level, 13 × 20 feet (4 × 6 meters). A stone water basin and cooking area suggest that it may have been auxiliary living quarters for servants or for guards.

As we opened up new sub-areas to the north of the L area building, we came upon two later levels above the 1-B (10th-9th century B. C.) and the 1-A (early 8th century) levels. Apparently these later levels had been eroded farther south on the top of the mound where we found the L area building. The lower of the two new levels appeared first as we moved north, and was labeled 1-A^a (8th century), and subsequently there appeared a level even above that, labeled 1-A^b (8th-7th century).

The uppermost new level, 1-A^b (8th-7th century B. C.), to our amazement yielded plaster floors just six inches beneath the present surface of the mound. For centuries ploughs have been bumping along over these floors, and while many have been disturbed, it was most gratifying to find one whole plaster floor intact, and parts of others nearby still surviving. The intact plaster floor in the L-33 sub-area appeared to be a court 11½ × 22 feet (3.45 × 6.70 meters), surrounded by rooms on three sides. Some of the rooms were small—on the southwest the surviving walls indicated one room as about 8 × 8½ feet (2.40 × 2.60 meters). This house (" house of the plaster court ") and adjacent structures belong to the late eighth-early seventh century B. C. and in the light of indications so far would constitute part of the city rebuilt after the late eighth century Assyrian invasion which took Samaria in 721 B. C. (II Kings 18:9-10).[8] With rooms on three sides of the court and not on the fourth, this house fits the eighth-seventh century B. C. house plan described by Ruth Amiran and I. Dunayevsky in the BULLETIN in February, 1958.[9]

The sub-areas several meters to the north yielded an eighth-seventh century (level 1-A^b) house with a stone paved court, again only a few inches below surface.[10] Adjacent houses also included courts, and where enough of the walls survived to follow out the rooms, appeared to have rooms on three sides of the court rather than on four. In connection with these houses a number of underground stone-lined storage chambers were uncovered as well as a plaster lined one, cylindrical in shape, with vertical sides and a flat base, five feet in diameter and over three feet deep (1.55 × 1 meter). Typical eighth-seventh century pottery, with

[6] Room 1 of 1-A level.

[7] Room 2 of level 1-A in sub-area L-15.

[8] For summary of levels, see the first and last paragraphs of this article. Also see note 2.

[9] " The Assyrian Open Court Building and its Palestinian Derivatives," BULLETIN 149, pp. 25-32; for the second category of house, without rooms on one side of the court, see p. 31.

[10] In sub-area L-55.

palace-ware sherds and one complete palace-ware bowl, were found in this upper level of the sixth season (level 1-A[b]).

One of the striking finds in this upper level was a pottery coffin (or "bathtub") [11] a meter long with a jumble of human bones and a skull at one end, plus part of another skull at the side (Fig. 3). It evidently

FIG. 2. Iron I tomb, showing pyxis jar, chalice, bowls, juglet, and lamps; upper right, part of fallen ceiling.

was a reburial from the period of Assyrian occupation (8-7th century B. C.), though superficially it reminded one of a "bathtub murder." Part of a palace-ware bowl, a stone fluted bowl and other evidence pointed to a late eighth or a seventh century B. C. date.

[11] Similar pottery vessels were labeled "bathtubs" at Megiddo, found in Strata III-II; also one was found, used as a coffin, in the tomb of Adoni-Nur at Amman, dated about 650 B. C.; see G. Lankester Harding, "Four Tomb Groups from Amman," *Palestine Exploration Fund Annual VI*, 1953, section iv on "The Tomb of Adoni-Nur." Mr. Harding commented, "The coffin (No. 47), for instance, is of the same general class as the "bathtub" from Megiddo in Strata III-II, where an Assyrian settler may have been buried in conformity with the custom of his own land" (p. 67; also see Pl. VI). Père de Vaux also called our attention to the discovery of similar coffins or tubs at Tell el-Far'ah; see *Revue Biblique*, 1951, Pl. XVI, 1, 2, 3; 416.

In the fifth season, 1958, we found over one hundred intrusive burials on the southwest corner of the top of the mound, representing a cemetery of the post-Biblical period, possibly that of the people who built the twelfth-fourteenth century A. D. building on the highest part of the mound (T area). These late burials were all oriented with head to the west, feet to the east. In 1959 we found a number more of these burials, but the cemetery faded out as we moved to the north. The pottery coffin, noted in the preceding paragraph, was ancient and had no connection with these mediaeval burials. A few meters south of the pottery-coffin burial we found another burial which was also plainly ancient. It was oriented with head to the south, feet to the north; the hands, cut off at the wrists, were found under the thighs of the skeleton, and on one finger was a ring set with a jade-like green stone. Nearby was a whole Assyrian palace-ware bowl. It may have been an Assyrian burial, made in the late eighth century between the Assyrian destruction and the rebuilding of Dothan.

Toward the western edge of the top of the mound we found three Iron Age jar burials of infants in one of the eighth century B. C. levels (1-A^a). The style of the jars was typical of the eighth century, and the burials were presumably made in the late eighth or early seventh century B. C., in the period of Assyrian influence. As in the case of the Iron II jar burial found over 400 feet to the east during the second season (1954),[12] the heads of the infants were larger than the mouths of the jars, which indicates that the jars were cracked into at least two pieces and one piece used as the cover for the burial.

In places where the upper level, eighth-seventh century (1-A^b), had been largely destroyed and robbed, we went down to the eighth century level (1-A^a). It yielded houses built around courts, although not enough of the house plans could be recovered this season to determine whether there were rooms on three sides or four sides of the courts. One house of this level in which we found a number of loom weights ("house of the weaver") included a long court, and adjacent to it, a long room. Between the two there were two upright pillars about a meter high, which may have been bases for wooden columns to support the roof or second floor. The house had a well-preserved floor level, with a cooking area, stone bowls, storage jars, a red pottery bowl and a quantity of red sherds, a variation of Samaria ware.

On the slope,[13] we found more of the Early Bronze III city wall, first discovered in last year's excavation (1958). It continued on to the north for several meters, and then made an abrupt turn, slightly sharper than a right angle, into the face of the *tell*. The section of this wall uncovered this season survived to a height of 10 feet (3 meters).

Farther down the slope during the previous season (1958), we uncovered the massive remains of the lower part of another Early Bronze Age city wall, 13 feet (4 meters) thick.[14] As we followed it to the north,

[12] *Bulletin* 135, p. 18; *Biblical Archaeologist*, Vol. XIX, No. 2 (May, 1956), p. 46 and Fig. 11.

[13] In sub-area K-31.

[14] Wall No. 5 of the 1958 season; see BULLETIN 152, pp. 11, 15, and Fig. 2.

it faded into an irregular mass of stones. This season (1959), since the irregular stones, possibly fallen, yielded no clear face or pattern as we continued to the north, we decided to dig down vertically. Finally, after nearly 17 feet (5 meters), going through scattered stones and Late Bronze-Iron I sherds, we came to a circular stone-lined pit which diminished in size until it funneled into a square-cut shaft in the bedrock, approximately four feet on a side (1.25 × 1.40 meters). About a meter down the shaft, a stone slab, leaning out from a vertical rock cut opening, implied the doorway of a tomb—which it proved to be.

FIG. 3. Pottery coffin from period of Assyrian occupation (8th-7th century B. C.); skull at far end, second skull at left, jumbled bones and pottery in center and near end.

Since it was just four days before the end of the excavation, we worked around the clock 24 hours in eight-hour shifts to see if we could possibly clear the tomb, but we discovered the ceiling had collapsed—a mass of limestone, conical in shape, probably 10 to 15 feet thick in the center. Because of the fallen ceiling, we could dig only about a meter into the tomb; we also worked about a meter to the left and to the right in recovering objects.[15] In this small area we found some 50 whole or partial Iron Age lamps, bowls, pyxis jars, chalices, and other vessels (Fig. 2). Reluctantly we sealed the tomb with reinforced concrete, to await another season for removing the fallen ceiling.

[15] By removing some of the accumulated dirt we were able to crawl several feet farther to the right around the fallen ceiling in a space scarcely two feet wide in most places. This made it possible to estimate the fallen ceiling as fifteen or more feet in diameter. There was not sufficient time to remove more earth and search for more objects in this area.

In analyzing the scattered stones and the tomb beneath, it appears that Iron I people dug through the fallen remains of the massive Early Bronze Age city wall and built a circular stone-lined cone-shaped shaft leading to a rock-cut shaft with a doorway tomb. Were the great quantities of broken Iron I jars, often half jars or complete rims and handles, which we found on the stones as we went down, the remains of offerings placed on the stones of the open conical shaft leading to the tomb?

During the 1959 season some 390 objects were found, including nearly fifty lamps, bowls, chalices, and jars from the Iron I tomb. In the stratified Iron II levels we found, among other objects, two whole No. 7 storage jars,[16] three storage jars used for the child burials, the pottery coffin ("bathtub") (Fig. 3),[17] a whole Assyrian palace-ware bowl, two stone fluted shallow plates, a number of Iron Age lamps, a seal bearing a scorpion, a portable olive press, Astarte plaques, several small pottery cups similar in shape to present day Turkish coffee cups, several bowls, and the usual spindle whorls, grindstones, and so forth.

The 1959 staff included the writer and Mrs. Free as directors; as area supervisors Professor Robert Cooley of Springfield, Missouri, Mr. Ronald Haznedl, student at McCormick Seminary, and Mr. James Jennings and Mr. Kenneth Walther, archaeology majors at Wheaton College; alternate supervisors include Mrs. Eileen Cooley, Lieutenant Austin Hale, and Mrs. LaRene Jennings. Recording was handled during the day by Mrs. Cooley and Mrs. Jennings, assisted after digging hours by other members of the staff. Drafting was shared by Professor Cooley and Mr. Haznedl. The staff photographer was Lieutenant Hale, who assisted as coordinator in a multitude of duties. Mr. Abed Kadoumi of the Department of Antiquities served as observer and assistant. Pottery sorting and classification were under the direct supervision of the director, assisted by the other members of the staff. During the season we found more than 200,000 sherds.

The many visitors included the members of the American and French Schools, Dr. Awni Dajani and other officials of the Department of Antiquities, Mr. Joseph Saad of the Rockefeller Museum, and Père R. de Vaux of the Ecole Biblique (French School). We greatly appreciate their kind cooperation and counsel.

In summary, we excavated on top of the mound in four Iron II levels this season. In the light of our knowledge at the end of the season, they may be listed and tentatively dated as follows: level 1 (previously called 1-A^{b}), 8th-7th century B. C., probably representing the rebuilding of Dothan following the Assyrian invasion which culminated in the capture of Samaria in 721 B. C.; level 2 (level 1-A^{a}), representing a late 8th century rebuilding, possibly after a destruction by Tiglath-pileser, who evidently captured Megiddo about 13 miles to the northwest of Dothan in 733 B. C.;[18] level 3 (level 1-A), probably late 9th or early 8th century B. C.,[19] after a destruction of the same period. This level

[16] See note 3.
[17] See note 11.
[18] Cf. W. F. Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine* (Pelican ed.), p. 129.
[19] The scanty remains of the 1-A level found in 1958 suggested an 8th-7th century

includes the re-use and rebuilding of the 10th-9th century administrative building of level 4. Level 4 (level 1-B of the 1958 excavation), 10th-9th century B. C., includes the L area administrative building, probably dating in its original construction from the Solomonic period.

THE NABATAEAN GODDESS AL-KUTBA' AND HER SANCTUARIES [1]

JOHN STRUGNELL

In May of this year, Miss Diana Kirkbride organized a survey of the Wâdi Ramm region. I was invited to join her party as epigraphist, and spent my time collecting new Nabataean and Thamudic graffiti and checking readings in the texts from 'Ain Shellâleh published by Savignac.[2] The new texts will be published together with the other results of the survey; here I merely give a revised reading of Savignac's text Ramm 17 together with certain consequences that can be derived from it.

Ramm 17 is inscribed under two rock-cut betyls. Savignac read *'lrtb' dybgy' 'l'z'* and took *'lrtb'* (Arabic *rtb* to be "firm, solid") as a divine epithet which became a divine name.[3] Littmann explained *dy bgy'* as meaning "who is in Gaia" [4] but his suggestion of *'ldtn'* for the beginning, although at least *dtn* is attested as a divine name, still left the difficulty of the simultaneous use of two determinative elements, one Arabic and one Nabataean. Later Starcky and Milik suggested *'ln nṣb'* [5] which, although the best possible reading for Savignac's copy, did not inspire conviction. When in Ramm, I checked the reading of the stone and made a latex squeeze [6] and a tracing. These showed that the readings hitherto proposed were materially impossible. There is a clear stroke joining the base of Savignac's *r* to his *t* and so we have irrefragable medial *k;* and although at the point where the right hand stroke of the *t* joins

B. C. date; cf. BULLETIN 152, p. 12. However, the further discovery this season (1959) of two levels above 1-A, now imply an early 8th century B. C. (or possibly late 9th) date for 1-A; cf. note 2 in this article.

[1] The friendly help that I have received from Prof. F. V. Winnett, Prof. F. M. Cross and the Abbé J. Starcky in my pursuit of this goddess will be apparent in the course of this article. I thank them all warmly. The inscriptions in Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission Archéologique en Arabie* (Paris, 1909-1914), are cited as JSa N(abataean) 17. Proper names without reference come, if Nabataean, from J. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen*, vol. II (Paris, 1932); if South-Arabic, from G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques* (*Bibliothèque du Muséon* 2, Louvain, 1934); if in Greek transcription, from H. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients* (*Studien zur Epigraphik und Papyruskunde*, I, 4, Leipzig, 1930).

[2] RB XLII (1933), p. 405 ff., XLIII (1934), p. 572 ff.

[3] RB XLIII (1934), p. 574.

[4] Cf. RB LXIV (1957), p. 206.

[5] *Syria* XXXV (1958), p. 247, n. 2.

[6] Now in the Harvard Semitic Museum.

the top, the rock is slightly damaged so that *ṣ* would be possible, the bottom is perfectly conserved and lacks the characteristic turn of *n* to the left.

Materially then it is hard to read anything but *'lktb' dy bgy'*. To vocalise this as *'alkattābā* leaves us with the same difficulty as the former reading *'ldtn'*—a name doubly determined. Dr. Winnett drew my attention to the Lihyanite divine name *hn'ktb* which he proposes to vocalise *han-'aktab*, *han-* being the form the Lihyanite article takes before laryngals.[7] Other scholars [8] still follow the standard vocalisation *hānikātib*, but since a name meaning " servant of Kātib " is strange for a

Fig. 1.

God, they are compelled to postulate the divinisation of figures attendant on Kātib, as is the case with Thoth and his attendants in Egypt. Our Nabataean form seems at first sight closer to the vocalisation *Kātib* but, in that case, we still have the intractable double determination of the name. We can, however, *establish* the vocalisation *han-'aktab* for Lihyanite if we compare the unfortunately damaged text JSa L 55, which mentions an *'fkl hktby*. JSa translates: " Grand-prêtre, écrivain," in the teeth of a plain construct group. Caskel finds a proper name *'Afkal ha-Kātibi*, but the *y* is then bizarre.[9] If, however, we vocalise *'afkal ha-Kutbay* we have, whether *'fkl* is here a common noun or part of a composite name, an attestation of a goddess Ha-Kutbay, a feminine variant of Han-'Aktab on the pattern *'fl= fly*. Similar masculine-feminine couples can be seen in the divine names Azizos and Al-'Uzza, *'rṣw* and *Ruḍā*. And it is this goddess that we find in our Nabataean

[7] Winnett, *A Study of the Lihyanite and Thamudic Inscriptions* (*University of Toronto Studies, Oriental Series* No. 3, Toronto 1937); cf. G. Ryckmans, *Le Muséon*, 50, 1937, p. 327 ff.

[8] E. g. W. Caskel, *Lihyan und Lihyanisch* (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Geisteswissenschaften, Heft 4*), 1954, p. 141. Of course there are personal names beginning with the element *hn'* but this is not a possible element of a divine name, which *hn'ktb* in JSaL 37, 62 clearly is.

[9] Grimme, OLZ XLI (1938) p. 348, took it as an adjectival form equivalent to *hn'ktb*, " Der mit dem (Schicksals-) Buche Begabte "!.

inscription, which should be translated: "Al-Kutbā' who is in Gaia, Al-'Uzza." In Nabataean the spelling of *hktby* as *'lktb'* with ' is regular, and is attested even in our inscription where Lihyanite *'l'zy* is written *'l'z'*.[10]

Once found, this goddess turns up elsewhere. A further attestation is to be found in JSa N. 142 which they transcribe *dkyr tym ktb'* (?) and translate "Taim . . . écrivain." However, between *m* and *k* there is a clear *l* and the name *tymlktb'* is of the pattern of *tym'lb'ly*, *tym'lhy*, Ταμαλγα (Nessana 79: 49).[11] For the loss of the *'alif* compare *grmlb'ly* (x4), *'bdlb'ly* (x2), *'bdlhy* (x7), *tymlhy* (x4). It should be noted that this name is of the same pattern as *grmhn'ktb* (?), *zdhn'ktb* in Lihyanite.[12]

When I had reached the above morphological analysis of the divine name, I submitted my conclusion to Prof. F. M. Cross, who accepted it. The same evening he was engaged in studying the script of the Nabataean inscription from Tell esh-Shuqāfiyeh in Egypt [13] and saw that the second line had been misread but clearly gave the name of the deity to whom the inscription was dedicated, Al-Kutbā'! Further the inscription specifically indicated the deity's sex by the preposition *qdmyh* in line 5. I consider that with this discovery we can now reconstruct the inscription with practical certainty.

[dnh by]ṯ' ḏ[y bnh X]
[br ..]ḇw l'lktb' '[lht']
['l]ḥyy mr'n ṣyw 'pkl'
[wḥ]yy npšh wdy yhwh šm[h]

[10] Cf. Littmann, *Syria* (*Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria* 1904-5, 1909), Division IV, *Semitic Inscriptions*, Section A (Leyden, 1914), p. xxvi, on *'alif maqṣūrah* in Nabataean. I transcribe the name in Nabataean as 'Al-Kutbā' but am not sure whether it was not pronounced 'Al-Kutbay: cf. the name *'bd'l'zy*. In any case, when a Nabataean determinative is substituted for an Arabic one, the *y* reappears (e. g. *'l'z'*, but e. g. *khn 'zy'*).

[11] C. J. Kraemer Jr., *Excavations at Nessana*, vol. III (Princeton 1958).

[12] Since the couple *hn'ktb/hktby* is attested in Lihyanite, perhaps JSa L 279 should be taken as containing a compound proper name *grmktbh*. The third letter is damaged and *m*, *h*, *ṭ* are possible The first could be *m* or *g* according to the date of the inscription. Against interpretations such as Grimme's (*Le Muséon* 50 [1937], pp. 206, 321) and Caskel (*op. cit.*, p. 99 f.) it should be pointed out that the word divider is used in this inscription but not before *k*, so probably we should take the group as being one word and a proper name at that. *Mrṭ* is not known in compound names: *grhktbh* or *mrhktbh* would be formally possible, but *grm* is a most frequent initial element of a composed name. *Grmktbh* would present two peculiarities: the lack of article and *ktbh* for *ktby*. For the former we compare the forms of Nabataean proper names with and without article: *'bd'l'ly/'bd'ly*; *'bd'lb'ly/'bdb'ly*; *'wš'lb'ly/'wšb'ly*. *Ktbh* represents a form *fa'lā'* instead of *fu'là* (*ktby*) (Caskel, *op. cit.*, p. 70); but since both are used as metaplastic feminines of *'af'al*, it is not impossible that one could alternate with the other at this period. The *nktb* of JSa L 255 remains a problem.

[13] Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, VIII (Paris, 1924), pp. 229 ff. and pl. VII. Cf also E. Littmann and D. Meredith, "Nabataean Inscriptions from Egypt" (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 16 [1954] pp. 227-230 and Starcky's demolition of Littmann's reconstruction in *Syria* 32 (1955), p. 155 ff.

[*dk*]*yr qdmyh wb'wytw*
b̊šlm b21 lpḥnśy dy[*š*]
[*nt*] *4 ltlmy mlk'dy hy* [*šn*]
[*t 1*]*l̊mr'n ṣyw 'pkl' š̊l̊m*

"This is the temple (?) which X son of Y built for Al-Kutbā', the goddess, for the life of our lord Ṣeyô, the priest, and for his own life, and in order that his name be remembered in her presence and in *'wytw*. Peace. On the 21st of Paḥonsi in the fourth year of Ptolemy the King, which is the first (?) year of our lord Ṣeyô, the priest."

I have had the advantage of consulting Starcky's notes about the traces on the stone itself and this reading presents scarcely any difficulties.

L. 1. Clermont-Ganneau read *t* or *n* followed by ', then *h*; but as soon as one realizes that one of the strokes of his *h* belongs to the *l* of the line below, any letter that has a vertical stroke is equally possible. As for

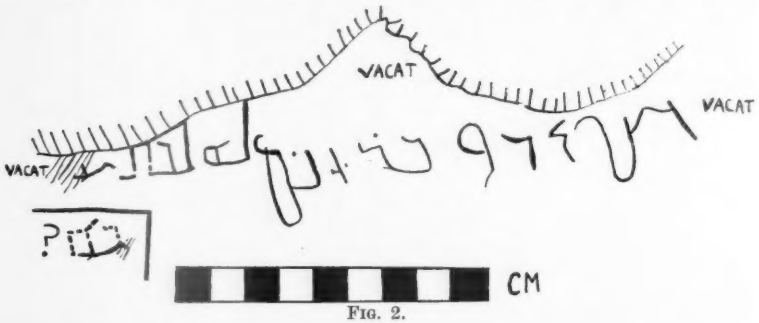

FIG. 2.

his reconstruction *l'lt 'lht' hqym*, once we see that the goddess' name is mentioned in l. 2 we may abandon this rare form of dedication and follow the standard pattern: "This is the (e. g.) temple that A, son of B, built for the god C."[14] The stone is a large block coming from a wall of an unexcavated structure, probably a temple, and not a plaque or altar base.[15] The inscription then probably records the building either of the whole temple or of a part of it. We can accordingly reconstruct: *dnh byt' ('rkt)* or *d' 'rb't' (mḥrmt') dy bnh ('bd)*. With any of these readings the letters]*t'd*[or]*n'd*[come in the right place.[16]

L. 2. The names are irrecoverable although the father's name ends in *bw, nw, tw*. The form of the second *l* in Al-Kutbā' is slightly strange since it is more properly a final *l*, but it is not anomalous at this period

[14] E. g. CIS II: 182. Cf. CIS II: 160, RES 471, 2092. Syria XXXV (1958), p. 227.
[15] Clermont-Ganneau, *ibid.*, p. 231.
[16] On the stone one can no longer see whether there is a ligature between *t* and what precedes, or even whether the right stroke of the *t* is preserved. Clermont-Ganneau's copy, made from a squeeze taken before the stone was damaged, suggests that there is not, in which case *mḥrmt'*, *'rkt'*, and *'rb'n'* are excluded.

(cf. the slightly later CIS 349). After the name of the goddess, there is in Clermont-Ganneau's photograph what seems to be a horizontal stroke. Although when Starcky studied the inscription he was unable to draw any conclusions from the trace there, the only letter in this script with such a horizontal stroke is *'*. *'lht'* is the most natural supplement.

L. 3. *'pkl'*, although not on the stone now, was on the first squeeze sent to Clermont-Ganneau. The stone was subsequently damaged. The reading *mr'n ṣyw* (the *n* is final),[17] not *mr'y ṣyw* (Milik[18]) and certainly not *mr' ṣyw* (Littmann)[19] is the only one palaeographically possible. While correct in old Aramaic, Egyptian Aramaic, Samaritan, Palmyrenian, Syriac and Mandaean, *mr'n* is strange in Nabataean where *-n'* is the only form of the 1st plural suffix so far attested.[20] Perhaps in this peripheral inscription we should see the influence of the standard form of Egyptian Aramaic. On the name *ṣyw* see the note by Albright at the end of my paper. Some vaguely similar Greek transcriptions[21] are usually explained from the fairly common Safaitic *š'* (= Nab. **šy'*).

For the rest, Clermont-Ganneau's readings are the most plausible, although his explanation of *wb'wytw* in l. 5 is to be corrected. It is certainly to be interpreted as a place name "and in *'wytu*," i. e. the location of another temple. One would assume naturally, since no other god is mentioned, that this temple too was dedicated to Al-Kutbā'. Clermont-Ganneau tentatively suggested that *wdy yhwh šmh dkyr* must be taken as referring to a definite person: "et pour la vie de lui-même et (de celui) dont le nom sera mentionné devant elle et à Aouitou"; and that the name of the king might well be implied at this point. *'wytw* should then be taken as referring to Thebes "où l'on procédait *ab antiquo* à l'intronisation." Historically and linguistically this is unlikely. As Clermont-Ganneau himself notes, this ceremony was at that time performed at Memphis, not at Thebes. Again, *'wytw* was a place from which another Nabataean or Sinaitic Arab comes, as the personal name *'wytyw* shows; so we should look for a territory more frequented by Nabataeans or Sinaitic Arabs.[22] Thirdly we should probably translate *wdy* as a conjunction and not as a periphrasis for the genitive, i. e. "for his own life and so that his (i. e. the builder's) name be remembered before Al-Kutbā' and in *'wytw*." It would be just possible that *'wytw* was the name of Shuqāfīyeh itself, but more probable that two temples

[17] The values *n* and *ṣ* were first given by Starcky in "Inscriptions archaïques de Palmyre" (*Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*), Vol. II (Roma 1956), p. 522.

[18] Milik, *ap. Syria* 32 (1955), p. 156.

[19] Littmann, *loc. cit.*

[20] Cantineau, *op. cit.*, I, 53, II, 212.

[21] Cf. Wuthnow, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

[22] The absence of dating by Nabataean regnal years shows that we are not in territory under Nabataean political control. More startling is the lack of mention of the Nabataean royal family in the *'l ḥyy* formula. This is almost *de rigueur* in Nabataean inscriptions, not depending on Nabataean control of the territory where the inscription is made (but perhaps cf. CIS II: 336 from Teima). Milik suggests that the temple may have served a population that was not specifically Nabataean but Arab.

are envisaged. Have we any chance of localising it and finding who was the god worshipped there?

Starcky at one time [23] suggested that the name *'wytw* survived in a corrupt form in the modern Qaṣrâweṭ. An inscribed base of an altar was found in a temple there and at that time Starcky read it as a dedication

FIG. 3. Latex Squeeze of Ramm 17.

to *'lb'ly*. But after publishing this suggestion he was able to see the inscription itself and recognised that the traces did not support his reading. While discussing *'wytw* and its deity with me, he remembered

[23] *Syria*, XXXII (1955), p. 156. Starcky is certainly right in considering Littmann's Nos. 82 and 83 (BSOAS, *loc. cit.*, p. 230-2) to be the same inscription reported twice. No. 83 comes from Clédat's report of his excavations in May, 1911, at Qaṣrâweṭ where, he writes (*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte*, XII [1912-3], p. 157), "devant la grande *niche*, j'ai recueilli les morceaux d'un *petit autel en albâtre* en forme de collonettes." This, he says, was deciphered for him by de Vogüé, who reported to the Académie des Inscriptions on 21st July 1911 (CRAIBL 1911, p. 436), where he read a letter from Clédat. The *summary* of this letter mentions a "petit sanctuaire avec *niche d'autel en albâtre*." Surely it is more likely that this letter came from Clédat after his May, 1911, season at Qaṣrâweṭ rather than his excavations in April, 1910, at Meḥemdîyeh. De Vogüé referred the dedication to Zeus Casius; Chabot thought therefore that the inscription came from Mons Casius, and, since Clédat thought at the time that Mons Casius was at Meḥemdîyeh, Littmann thought that the inscription came from there! In any case Chabot's reading of No. 1487 (= Littmann 82) shows that his squeeze presented a text identical with No. 83, with broken letters and difficulties at just the same points as in Starcky's and Clédat's copies of No. 83. *Entia non sunt multiplicanda!*

that the name of the god of Qaṣrâweṭ had not been deciphered. He had, when studying the inscription, made a material copy of the traces on the stone, and taken photographs, both of which he has kindly allowed me to use here; it was immediately apparent to both of us on studying these that Al-Kutbā' was the most plausible reading of the goddess in that inscription too! *K* is certain, *t* is the most natural reading of the subsequent sign; the remaining sign he notes in his copy as not being certain, and from the photographs we can see that the apparent right-hand projection may well be a fault in the stone or part of a destroyed ligature with *t*, and also that there is a stroke going upwards at the right-hand edge. The left end of the stroke would be the right-hand corner of a destroyed ' and so we have a ligature of *b* and '. The inscription then reads: *ḥwyrw br grm l'lktb'*.[24] This reading will then make probable his suggestion that the place-name, *'wytw* survives in the modern Qaṣrâweṭ. Even if this is not so, we have in any case an altar dedicated to Al-Kutbā' in a temple at Qaṣrâweṭ—probably a temple to her and another unexcavated temple to her in Shuqāfiyeh, where an inscription definitely attests her cult in that place and at *'wytw*. It is, therefore, most natural to assume that the same goddess was worshipped at both places. Both temples are on Nabataean trade routes;[25] Shuqāfiyeh is an important road junction in the Wâdi Ṭumīlât near Tell el-Kebîr. The unexcavated temple there, or at least a major structural addition to it, is dated to the fourth year of a Ptolemy. Palaeographically Starcky concludes that this must be Ptolemy XIII and the year 44 B. C., while Cross inclines rather to date the inscription to the fourth year of Ptolemy Auletes, i. e. 77 B. C.[26] This temple might well repay excavation. The temple at Qaṣrâweṭ near Qaṭiyeh and on the trade route that goes through the Wâdi Maghârah, is put by its excavator in the Roman period, but his report is rather jejune and gives little material on which to base an impression of the date and character of the sanctuary; in any case the inscription seems to be early.

This deity is obviously a scribal god of the Nabu/Thoth/Hermes/Mercury pattern. The evidence of Al-Kutbā''s two temples in Egypt suggest that perhaps the parallel with Thoth is more important in this case—so confirming Caskel's suggestion of Egyptian influence in Lihyanite culture, although we were forced to jettison his arguments in the

[24] The name of the dedicator's father is unfortunately not clear. There seems to be a top stroke to the middle letter in the photograph and in Clédat's copy. In the photograph and in Starcky's copy the base of the middle letter seems the clearest element and suggests therefore *b* or *k*; but in Clédat's copy this stroke projects well beyond the vertical (an impossible phenomenon in Nabataean), so perhaps we are entitled to neglect the whole stroke as an accident in the stone; in this case the name becomes *grm* or *qrm*.

[25] Cf. Littmann and Meredith, *art. cit.*

[26] So in an article for the forthcoming Albright *Festchrift*. Typologically he sets it slightly earlier than the inscription on the statue of Rabb'el I (CIS II: 349), and shows that those forms which have been used to establish a very late date for CIS II: 349 are phantoms and that those that have been used to establish a date earlier than Shuqāfiyeh are typologically insignificant; CIS II: 349 has a far greater number of slightly later forms. The solution becomes clear when one recognizes that CIS II: 349 presents a formal script, while Shuqāfiyeh is in a formal script invaded by some early cursive forms.

case of *hn'ktb*.[27] I must leave to others more competent the study of her cult. Here I merely indicate such evidence as may show an association with Al-'Uzza parallel to that found in Ramm 17. There is, to my knowledge, no other attestation of the conjunction of the two Semitic names. There are, however, in Syria and Arabia, a few combinations of Mercury / Hermes with Aphrodite / Al-'Uzza which are relevant.[27a] One such is to be found in Arrian, who says of the island of Cataea (*Indica* 37): "This was said to be sacred to Hermes and Aphrodite . . . to it were brought every year sheep and goats from neighbouring places as offerings to Hermes and Aphrodite." Starcky draws my attention to another passage where Julian the Apostate, speaking of the cult at Edessa (? Emesa), says (Oratio IV[150]): "Iamblichus intimates, they say, . . . that Monimos is Hermes, Azizos Ares, consorts of Helios."[28] Here again we would have association of the two gods, if the identifications are reliable. Monimos (**Mun'im*) is, however, usually held to be an epithet of 'Arṣu, the companion of Azizos. Although there is no formal epigraphic attestation of this equation, it is probable,[29] and the text of Julian is not sufficiently unambiguous to enable us to identify Monimos with Al-Kutbā'—we can safely infer only an association of Monimos and Azizos, who seem elsewhere to be Hesperus and Phosphorus, with the possibility that Monimos had some other similarity to Greek Hermes, not necessarily connected with his scribal activity. On the other hand it is not impossible, though not susceptible of proof, that *one* of the reasons why the Thusdritanians dedicated a votive altar to Mercury at Boṣra[30] was that Al-Kutbā' was worshipped there, in the town of which we know that Al-'Uzza was principal goddess.

It would be rash, on the analogy of the way in which Al-'Uzza is identified with the evening star and Azizos with the morning star, to suggest that Han-'Aktab and Al-Kutbā' may have represented Mercury in the morning and the evening, respectively, for this division does not seem to hold good in the case of 'Arṣu and Ruḍā. Indeed it cannot be proved that we have any right to identify Al-Kutbā' with *the planet* Mercury: Thoth with whom the associations may be strongest, is a lunar deity. It is true that if the identification were made, astronomical grounds alone would account for an association with Al-'Uzza. But although *al-kātib*[u] is an Arabic name for Mercury, the origins of this appellation seem obscure and perhaps non-Arabic; in any case there is no pre-Islamic or early Islamic attestation of the title.[31]

---

[27] Caskel, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[27a] Because of typographical difficulties the Editor has translated the Greek quotations in Mr. Strugnell's text.

[28] For literature on this passage, cf. D. Sourdel, *Les cultes du Hauran à l'époque romaine* (*Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique*, LIII, Paris 1952), p. 75, n. 1, 78.

[29] J. G. Février, *La religion des Palmyréniens* (Paris 1931), p. 31.

[30] Cf. Sourdel, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[31] *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, s. v. 'Uṭārid.

SOME NOTES ON THE NABATAEAN GODDESS 'AL-KUTBA' AND RELATED MATTERS

At Mr. Strugnell's request I am adding a few details from material not readily accessible to him. There can be no doubt that he has added a very interesting chapter to our fragmentary knowledge of ancient North-Arabic deities. In my opinion Lihyanite Han-'Aktab and Nabataean 'Al-Kutba' are direct reflexions of the Babylonian-Aramaean planetary god Nabū, "Mercury." That Nabū was the scribe of the gods in Babylonian and Aramaean mythology is well known; the best treatment of the subject in concise form remains that by H. Zimmern in the third edition of E. Schrader's *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (1902), pp. 399-404. In his capacity as scribe Nabū was in charge of the learning contained in the cuneiform tablets, including especially all forms of divination. As chief diviner Nabū controlled the destiny of mankind.

M. Lidzbarski pointed out in his *Ginza* (1925), p. 205, that the title of the Mandaean Nbû, the planet Mercury, *sâfrâ ḥakkîmâ*, "wise scribe," appears not only in the Left Ginza (cf. *ibid.*, p. 446, line 1) from post-Christian times, but also in an Aramaic inscription from Cappadocia which he had published in the *Ephemeris*, I, p. 325, but without recognizing the appellation. Since the inscription in question dates from the fourth or possibly the third century B. C., it is clear that the pagan Aramaeans had already taken over and had heightened Neo-Babylonian conceptions of the divine scribe who controls the destiny of mankind. Names formed with *Nabû* were very common at Dura and elsewhere in the Upper Euphrates Valley; even New Testament *Barnabas* has long since been shown to come from *Bar-Nabû*, a common pagan name in Graeco-Roman times. There was much diffusion of Aramaic culture through North Arabia and even into South Arabia. As is well known, pagan Aramaic religion, with strong Babylonian elements (especially the planetary divinities), lasted down into the tenth century A. D. at Harran in northwestern Mesopotamia. We cannot, therefore, be surprised to find Nabu-Mercury as well as Venus playing an important role in the Lihyanite culture of the Hellenistic period as well as in the closely related Nabataean religious culture of the immediately following age. The ancients believed that the planets Mercury and Venus had similar orbits, of about the same length, especially since Mercury went through apparent phases and stations like those of Venus; cf.Roscher, *Lexikon*, III, 2518 ff. (s. v. "Planeten"), and especially col. 2525. (For my views on the Arabic names of the planet Venus and related figures in antiquity see the discussion in the *Paul Haupt Anniversary Volume* [1926], pp. 147 f.)

A very interesting minor point in Mr. Strugnell's article is the Egyptian name *ŠYW* from the first century B. C. In my opinion this is the late form of the earlier Semitic *ŠYḤ'*, Egyptian *D(d)-ḥ(r)*, Greek *Teōs*, etc., which was extremely common in the Saite and Perso-Hellenistic periods, with transcribed forms in the Hebrew Bible, the Aramaic documents from Egypt and the Neo-Babylonian tablets.

The Egyptian meaning of the name (which appears to be abbreviated) remains obscure. By Coptic times (including Old Coptic texts from the second century A. D. on) the *ḥ* had been reduced to a simple *h*, and there are grounds for dating this shift quite early in Hellenistic times. By the first century B. C. a pronunciation *Ćey(h)ô*, or the like, must have prevailed.

W. F. Albright

ON THE PREFERENTIAL STATUS OF THE ELDEST SON

I. Mendelsohn

Two recently published documents, one from Alalakh [1] and the other from Mari,[2] throw new light on the customs and laws pertaining to the inheritance right of the eldest son in the ancient Near East. The Alalakh tablet (from the fifteenth century B. C.) is a marriage contract concluded between Irihalpa and the woman Naidu. Although the tablet is partly damaged, the passage relating to the appointment by Irihalpa of a "first-born" from among his future sons by his two wives is quite clear. The clause reads: (lines 15-20a) *šum-ma* ^{1}SAL *Na-i-du* NU A.TU DUMU.SAL ŠEŠ-*šu* ^{1}*I-wa-aš-šu-ra i-na-an-di-in šum-ma x-x-x ša* ^{1}*I-ri-ḫal-pa a-na pa-ni-im-šu* A.TU *ù* EGIR-*šu* ^{1}SAL *Na-i-du* A.TU TUR.RA SAL *Na-i-du rab-bu-ti* "If Naidu does not give birth to a son (then) the daughter of his brother Iwashshura (i. e., his niece) shall be given (to Irihalpa as a wife); if . . . (another wife) of Irihalpa gives birth to a son first and after that Naidu gives birth to a son, the son of Naidu alone shall be the first-born." The Mari text (dated during the Assyrian domination) is an adoption contract. It states that Hillalum and his wife Alitum have adopted Iahatti-Il as their son. The usual clauses specifying the penalties in case of breach of contract by either party, familiar to us from similar texts of the Old Babylonian period, are enumerated. What makes this adoption contract of exceptional interest is the statement that the adopted son shall receive two shares of the inheritance. The clause reads: (lines 19-26) ^{1}*Ḫi-il-la-lum ù* SAL *A-li-tum ma-ri ma-du-tim-ma li-ir-*[*ri*]*-šu-ma* ^{1}*Ia-ḫa-at-ti-*AN*-ma ap-lu-um i-na* É *Ḫi-il-la-lim a-bi-šu ši-it-ti-in i-li-qí-ma aḫ-ḫu-šu ṣé-ḫe-ru-tum a-ḫu-um ki-ma a-ḫi-im-ma i-za-az-*[*zu*] "(If) Hillalum and Alitum should acquire (by adoption) many more sons, Iahatti-Il alone (is principal) heir,[3] from the estate of Hillalum, his father, two (shares) he shall take. His younger brothers shall divide (the remainder of the inheritance), brother like brother (i. e., in equal shares)."

The interesting feature in the Alalakh marriage contract is the fact that the custom of choosing a 'first-born' by a father, i. e., his right to

[1] D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, 1953, No. 92.

[2] G. Boyer, *Archives royales de Mari VIII: Textes juridiques et administratifs*, 1957, No. 1.

[3] Boyer (*Archives royales de Mari VIII transcrits, traduits et commentés*, 1958, No. 1) translates *aplum* as "le fils aîné," but this term is applied in the Old Babylonian texts to all heirs alike, cf. M. David, *Die Adoption im altbabylonischen Recht*, p. 87, note 31.

disregard the law of primogeniture, hitherto known from Nuzi,[4] Ugarit[5] and Palestine[6] (until prohibited by Deuteronomy 21: 15-17), has now been attested in Alalakh. The reason for selecting a "first-born" was that the chosen son was by this act elevated to a privileged position in the family. The eldest son was entitled to a double share in the inheritance of the paternal estate in Assyria,[7] Nuzi,[8] Palestine,[9] and, as it must now be assumed, also in Ugarit and Alalakh.

Turning to Babylonia we find that in the documents from Ur III (which constitute our main source of information on Sumerian legal practice), no mention is made of a favorable status of the first-born son.[10] It is in the Isin-Larsa period that we first hear of the preferential position enjoyed by the eldest brother. The texts from Nippur stipulate that the eldest brother (Sum. ŠEŠ.GAL = Akk. *aḫum rabûm*) shall receive "an additional share" (Sum. SÍB.TA = Akk. *elâtum*) from the inheritance over and above his younger brothers.[11] The contemporary texts from Larsa, although they do not employ the technical term SÍB.TA, clearly indicate that the eldest son inherits a larger share (often amounting to a double portion) than do his younger brothers.[12] It is within this context that the Mari adoption contract is of great interest. The document states specifically that the eldest brother (in this case the first adopted son) shall receive two shares of the inheritance, while his

[4] Cf. for example C. J. Gadd, "Tablets from Kirkuk," RA 23 (1926), No. 12; E. A. Speiser, "New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Family Laws," AASOR X (1928-29), No. 8.

[5] That a father (or mother) had the right to choose a 'first-born' from among the sons is evident from one private document and from references to this practice in the mythological literature, cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, "Trois contrats de Ras Shamra," *Syria* 18 (1937), p. 249 f., and C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual*, Texts 49: I, 15-17; 128: III, 16.

[6] Cf. Gen. 48: 13-20 (the case of Manasseh and Ephraim), 49: 3-4 (the repudiation of Reuben as the first-born), 48: 22 and I Chron. 5: 1-2 (the elevation of Joseph to the position of the first-born). Since a father could annul the birthright of his eldest son, the first-born in turn could dispose of his privilege for a price, as was done by Esau (Gen. 25: 30-34).

[7] *The Assyrian Laws* (ed. Driver and Miles), Tablet B, parag. 1. The law makes a distinction between uncultivated and cultivated land. From the former the eldest brother chooses and takes two portions outright; from the latter he chooses and takes one portion first and then receives another share by lot. See also E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts*, No. 1, lines 21-22: *mār bîti rabû 2 qātā ilaqqima* "the first-born son of the house shall take two shares."

[8] Cf. for example Gadd, *op. cit.*, Nos. 5 and 6; *Harvard Semitic Series* V, Nos. 7 and 67 (tr. E. M. Dossin, *L'adoption à Nuzi*, pp. 292, 286).

[9] Deut. 21: 15-17. The innovation in this law is the abrogation of the arbitrary power of the father to choose a "first-born." The clause relating to the right of the eldest son to a double share of the inheritance is a reiteration of an old custom; cf. Gen. 48: 22 where Joseph, after having been elevated to the status of a first-born (see I Chron. 5: 1-2), received from Jacob an additional share (*šekem*) above his brothers (see also Gen. 38: 28 and 49: 3).

[10] Cf. A. Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden*, Erster Teil, p. 113 (*Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen, Neue Folge*, Heft 39, 1956).

[11] Cf. J. Klíma, *Untersuchungen zum altbabylonischen Erbrecht* (*Monographien des Archiv Orientální* VIII, 1940); see also B. Landsberger, *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon: Die Serie ana ittišu*, vol. I, vi, 1-8.

[12] Cf. L. Matouš, "Le contrats de partage de Larsa . . . ," *Archiv Orientální* XVII, Part 2 (1949), pp. 142-73.

younger brothers (i. e., those who would be adopted in the future) shall take only one share each. We thus have evidence that the eldest brother was accorded a preferential status not only in Nuzi, Assyria, Syria, and Palestine, but also in Southern and Northern Babylonia in the period between the fall of Ur III and the rise of the Hammurabi empire.[13] On the other hand, the Code of Lipit-Ishtar (although promulgated in the Isin-Larsa period) and the later Hammurabi Code make no reference to the privileged position of the eldest son. Par. 24 of the Code of Lipit-Ishtar provides that the sons of the first wife and those of the second wife "shall divide equally the property of their father" (see also parags. 27, 31-32). Likewise, the Hammurabi Code decrees that all sons shall share equally in the paternal estate (pars. 165, 167, 170).[14]

On the basis of the available data we may conclude that the preferential status of the first-born son had its origin and *raison d'être* in semi-nomadic and predominantly agricultural societies.[15] The religious, social and economic obligations of the eldest son in such communities placed him second in rank to the *pater familias* and hence he was considered entitled to special prerogatives by virtue of that position. The changes that took place in the economic structure of the large cities in the Neo-Sumerian period and in the era of the First Babylonian Dynasty tended to reduce the rôle of the eldest brother in the family, and as a result documents from Ur III and the Hammurabi Code treat him as on equal footing with his younger brothers. In the less industrialized and commercial communities of Nuzi, Middle Assyria, Syria, and Israelite Palestine, however, the old custom of according a privileged status to the first-born son remained in force.

ON THE "AMORITE" *TA/TE* "WITH"

Matitiahu Tsevat

In Bulletin, No. 151 (October, 1958), pp. 28-31, A. Goetze isolated from Amorite names an element *ta*, with variants *te/i*, which he defined as a preposition with the "suitable meaning" with. This meaning does not afford as striking an explanation of some names as of others (as

[13] For this period see now D. O. Edzard, *Die "Zweite Zwischenzeit" Babyloniens*, 1957.

[14] Traces of the old custom which accorded a privileged position to one son above all the others are still found in the Code. According to par. 150 a mother may give the property (consisting of land and chattels) which her husband had bestowed on her during his life-time to a favorite son "whom she loves." Par. 165 provides that if a father during his life-time had presented his heir (*IBILA-šu*) "who finds favor in his eyes" with property, after the father's death that son shall take his "gift" (*qištum*), and apart from it receive an equal share from the inheritance. Par. 170 decrees that the sons of a free-born wife and those born by a slave-concubine whom the father had adopted shall divide equally, but the sons of the free-born wife shall choose their shares first, that is, select the best part of the estate.

[15] Klíma, *op. cit.*, p. 33, who maintains that the privileged position of the eldest brother was of Sumerian origin, suggests that this practice might have had its beginning in a purely agricultural society.

Goetze himself says), for not all the other onomastic components are clear, and possibly not every *-ta-* in the names of the list means "with," cf. *si-ba-ta-*AN with *si-ba-ta-nu* (p. 29 g). Yet this does not impair the validity of Goetze's finding, which provides a solid basis for further suggestions.

Goetze relates *ta/te* to the second elements—which coincide with the second syllables—of Heb. **balte* "without" and Akk. *ište* "with" (p. 30). To these Heb. *'eṯ*, Akk. *itti* "with" are added. *'eṯ* is to *ta/te* as AB to BA, i. e. it is a complete metathesis of the phonemes of the word.[1] Metathesis with resulting (original) variants is also found in other Semitic prepositions: Heb. *'el*, Arab. *'ilā* and Heb. *lə*, Arab *li* "to"; Syr. *'am*, S. Arab. *'m* and Arab. *ma'(a)* "with"; Aram. (various dialects) *'ə* and *'aḵ* "as."[2] Other particles are the common Semitic negation *lā* and Heb. *'al*, Akk. *ul*; Ugar., Aram. (various dialects) *'ap* and *p* "also, furthermore."[3,4] In Akk. *itti* "with," the metathetic variants are combined in mirrored reduplication (*it+ti*), in Akk. *ullu* "no" (noun), *ulla* "no" (adverb), perhaps so (*ul+la*).[5]

SOME BOOKS ON THE HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF PALESTINE AND SYRIA

John Bright's long-awaited volume, *A History of Israel* (Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1959, large 8 vo., 500 pp., with 16 maps, $7.50), has now been published. There can be no doubt that it is unrivaled in its field and that it should hold its place for many years to come. Exceedingly well documented, lucidly and often brilliantly written, it is a pleasure to read. The author has been strongly influenced both by the American archaeological approach and by the institutional and territorial approach of the Alt-Noth school. We recommend it without reservation.

The third volume of the great Hebrew *Encyclopaedia Biblica* is a worthy continuation of this monumental enterprise (Jerusalem, Bialik Institute, 1958, quarto, 964 columns with a host of good illustrations). Edited by **B. Mazar** and his colleagues, it covers the letters *ḥeth* and *yodh*. No institution interested in biblical studies can afford to be without this work.

The two parts of *Lachish IV: The Bronze Age* (Oxford University Press, 1958:—*Text*: 351 quarto pages; *Plates*: over 80 pp. and 96 plates and plans; American price $26.90) by **Olga Tufnell** with numerous collaborators, are a worthy monument to the munificence of Sir Henry Wellcome and the excavating skill of James L.

---

[1] The initial aleph of *'eṯ* and of most of the other particles listed here is phonologically conditioned, being the firm (initial) vowel release characteristic of most of the Semitic languages. These particles may, therefore, alternatively be described as consisting of a consonant plus a vowel in free position. The above description, however, accounts also for *'am/ma'*.

[2] To what extent the Syriac spelling *'jk* bears on the history of ['aḵ] (Brockelmann, *Syr. Grammatik*[6], 1951, pp. 80 ff.) cannot be determined.

[3] G. Garbini, *Biblica* 28 (1957), pp. 421-427.

[4] The variants of the Punic relative pronoun *ɔš/šɔ* (Friedrich, *Grammatik* § 121) are probably not indicative of a similar pair of variants in Old and Middle Phoenician or of any earlier **e/aš* contrasting with Heb. *šɛ/a*; cf. Friedrich § 122.

[5] The derivation from the demonstrative pronoun *ullū* (Von Soden, *Grammatik* § 45 f.), with the semantic change "that" > "(far) remote" > "nonexistent," is an alternative explanation.

Starkey. The Lachish publication is now one of the great landmarks in the history of Palestine archaeology, and it will continue for many years to be an inexhaustible mine of material for nearly every aspect of the field.

Three splendid parts of **André Parrot's** *Mission Archéologique de Mari*, Vol. II, *Le palais* (Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique*, Tomes LXVIII-LXX) have appeared. The first part, *Architecture* (Paris, Geuthner, 1958, viii + 76 plates), deals with the construction of the palace of Zimri-Lim, which alone covered more than 4 acres of terrain in the 18th century B. C. The second part, *Peintures murales* (1958, viii + 118 pp. + 30 plates, several in color), is an exhaustive treatment of the valuable mural paintings from the palace. The third part, *Documents et monuments* (1959, viii + 275 pp. + 57 plates) covers the objects of all kinds found in the palace, especially statuary, glyptic and pottery. With the aid of more than 600 illustrations in the text, we have in these three volumes a marvelous body of closely dated material for future students. While it is rather surprising to find so little of direct comparative value, this lack is more than compensated by the fact that nearly everything may be dated within half a century (probably cir. 1745-1695 B. C.).

Two massive volumes of the Danish Hamath publication have appeared recently, after nearly a decade had elapsed since **P. J. Riis** published his excellent volume on *Les cimétières à crémation* in 1948 as *Nationalmuseets Skifter, Større Beretninger I*. The third volume in the same series is *Hama: Fouilles et recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg 1931-1938: Les verreries et poteries mediévales*, by **P. J. Riis** and **Vagn Poulsen** with the aid of **E. Hammershaimb** (Copenhagen, National Museum, large quarto, 1957, xii + 316 pp. + 5 color plates, with over 1100 figures in the text). It is a mine of information on mediaeval Islamic glass and pottery. Fourth in the series is **E. Fugmann's** *L'architecture des périodes pré-hellénistiques* (1958, xv + 283 pp. + 10 plates, with 352 figures in the text). This volume provides much more than is promised by the title, since it includes detailed illustration of all finds in stratigraphic sequence. Of particular importance are the 40 pages devoted to the five caliciform phases of Stratum J (pp. 49-85, 281 f.); see the reviewer's brief discussion in BULLETIN, No. 155, p. 32, n. 2. We owe a profound debt of gratitude to **Harald Ingholt** and his collaborators for the excavation and publication of the Hamath finds.

In his popular book, *Rivers in the Desert* (New York, Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1959, xv + 302 pp. + 48 pp. of photographs, $6.50), **Nelson Glueck** gives the reader a fascinating survey of his most important discoveries in the Negev of Israel during the past three decades and especially since 1951. The author's enthusiasm is contagious, and few will be able to resist the spell woven by his eloquent evocation of a past that does not seem so remote after all.

Vol. III of the Colt Archaeological Institute Publications has been published as *Excavations at Nessana: Non-Literary Papyri*, by **Casper J. Kraemer, Jr.** (Princeton University Press, 1958, quarto, pp. xxiii + 355 + 8 plates, $7.50). The papyrus documents here published by the lamented editor of the series are nearly all in Greek, with a few late ones in Arabic; their date ranges over the entire sixth century A. D., until the latter part of the seventh. This is a unique contribution to our knowledge of the transition from Byzantine to Arabic culture.

Annual XXXII-XXXIII of the American Schools of Oriental Research is devoted to the publication of **James B. Pritchard's** work, *The Excavation at Herodian Jericho*, 1951 (New Haven, 1958, xiii + 58 pp. + 66 plates and plans. With contributions by **Sherman E. Johnson** and **George C. Miles**, it forms an excellent survey of the results of this important undertaking. Together with **James L. Kelso's** volume (*Annual* XXIX-XXX, 1955), it contributes notably to our knowledge of the culture of the Herodian age.—Now in press is *Annual* XXXIV-XXXV, containing **Lawrence A. Sinclair's** *An Archaeological Study of Gibeah (Tell el-Ful)* and **Ray L. Cleveland's** *The Excavation of the Conway High Place (Petra) and Soundings at Khirbet Ader.*

W. F. ALBRIGHT

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SCHOOLS

Orders for all publications of the Schools may be sent to the American Schools of Oriental Research, Drawer 93A, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. All subscriptions to the *Biblical Archaeologist, Bulletin,* and *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* run for a complete calendar year. Our agents in Great Britain are Blackwell's, Broad Street, Oxford.

THE BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGIST, a popular quarterly (ed. Edward F. Campbell, Jr. and G. Ernest Wright), yearly subscription (starting with 1959), $1.50. Current single issues 35 cents. Back issues, 50 cents for single copies, $1.75 for complete years.

THE BULLETIN, a quarterly review of the current work of the Schools and kindred research (ed. W. F. Albright), $2.00 a year. Current single numbers 50 cents each. Back issues (in print from No. 73 [1939] ff.), 60 cents a copy or $2.35 a year.

SUPPLEMENTARY STUDIES, short monographs, appearing occasionally. Formerly on subscription at $1.00 a year, now available on standing order or individually at prices indicated. No. 1 (out of print); 2/3, $1.25; No. 4 (out of print); No. 5/6, $1.25; No. 7/9, $2.00 boards, $1.75 paper; No. 10/12, $2.00; No. 13/14 (S. A. Birnbaum, *The Qumran [Dead Sea] Scrolls and Palaeography*), $1.50. No. 15/16 (1953, O. R. Sellers and D. C. Baramki, *A Roman-Byzantine Burial Cave in Northern Palestine*), $1.50. For complete list of authors and titles see page 2 of each number.

THE ANNUAL (edited by F. V. Winnett); Vols. I-IV are out of print (Vols. XX (Speiser) and XXIII (Kramer) have been lithoprinted and are available at $10.00 and $6.00 respectively). Vol. XXXII-XXXIII (for 1952-54) is James B. Pritchard's book, *The Excavations at Herodian Jericho, 1951* (price $7.50). Vol. XXXIV-XXXV (for 1954-56) is in press and will appear soon.

THE JOURNAL OF CUNEIFORM STUDIES (ed. Albrecht Goetze) a scholarly review of the literatures, languages, and cultures of ancient Mesopotamia and the surrounding countries, $6.00 a year. Individual issues are $1.75.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE JERUSALEM SCHOOL

NEW TESTAMENT TEXTUAL CRITICISM (Published by Geuthner in Paris). At present not obtainable through our New Haven office.

ARCHAEOLOGY. Vol. II. *Manual of Archaeological Surveying.* A. H. Detweiler, 1948. Bound, $1.75.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE BAGHDAD SCHOOL

TEXTS: JOINT EXPEDITION WITH THE IRAQ MUSEUM AT NUZI. Vols. I-III published by Geuthner, Paris, and not obtainable through our office; Vol. V may be obtained from the Schools at $1.50; Vols. IV and VI are out of print.

EXCAVATIONS (published by the University of Pennsylvania Press). Vol. I, out of print. Vol. II, *Tepe Gawra,* A. J. Tobler, 1950. $10.00.

TEXTS. JOINT EXCAVATION WITH HARVARD UNIVERSITY AT NUZI (Published by Harvard University Press). Vols. I-III, $6.00 each, Vol. IV, out of print.

EXCAVATIONS (Harvard University Press). *Nuzi, Report on the Excavations at Yorgan Tepe near Kirkuk, Iraq.* R. F. S. Starr. Vol. I (Text) $5; Vol. II (Plates) $10.00.

GERASA, CITY OF THE DECAPOLIS, ed. C. H. Kraeling, out of print.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE JORDAN. Nelson Glueck, 1940. $1.75 (lithoprinted).

WHAT MEAN THESE STONES? Millar Burrows, 1941, out of print.

MATHEMATICAL CUNEIFORM TEXTS (Published jointly with the American Oriental Society). Ed. O. Neugebauer and A. Sachs. 1945. $5.00.

TELL EN-NASBEH. (Published jointly with the Palestine Institute, Pacific School of Religion.) Ed. C. C. McCown. 1947. Vol. I, $12; Vol. II, $8; the two volumes together $18.75.

DEAD SEA SCROLLS, ed. Millar Burrows, 1950, Vol. I. litho. ed., $2.50; 1951, Vol. II, fasc. 2, $2.00; fasc. 1 has had to be cancelled.

THE SONG OF ULLIKUMMI. H. G. Güterbock, 1952 (reprinted from *JCS*). $2.00.

AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

Founded 1900, incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia, 1921.

TRUSTEES

A. HENRY DETWEILER, *Associate Dean*, Cornell University	Term 1957-5[illegible]
NELSON GLUECK, *President*, Hebrew Union College and Jewish Institute of Religion	"
THOMAS W. PHELPS, *Corporation Executive*, New York City	"
JOHN W. WARRINGTON, *Lawyer*, Cincinnati	"
H. DUNSCOMBE COLT, JR., *Esq.*, New York City	Term 1958-60
OTTO VON KIENBUSCH, *Esq.*, New York City	"
CARL H. KRAELING, *Director*, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago	"
OLIVER C. REYNOLDS, *Lawyer*, New York City	"
WILLIAM F. ALBRIGHT, *Professor Emeritus*, Johns Hopkins University	Term 1959-61
GEORGE CAMERON, *Professor*, University of Michigan	"
DONALD SCOTT, *Director Emeritus*, Peabody Museum, Harvard University	"
CHARLES K. WILKINSON, *Curator*, Metropolitan Museum	"
FRANK E. BROWN, *Professor*, Yale University (for the Archaeological Institute of America)	
HERBERT G. MAY, *Professor*, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology (for the American Oriental Society)	
G. ERNEST WRIGHT, *Professor*, Harvard University (for the Society of Biblical Literature)	

ASSOCIATE TRUSTEES

FRANK M. CROSS, JR., *Professor*, Harvard University	Term 1958, 59
LUCETTA MOWRY, *Professor*, Wellesley College	"
JAMES MUILENBURG, *Professor*, Union Theological Seminary	"
FERRIS STEPHENS, *Professor*, Yale University	"
ROBERT J. BRAIDWOOD, *Professor*, University of Chicago	Term 1959, 60
HARALD INGHOLT, *Professor*, Yale University	"
HARRY M. ORLINSKY, *Professor*, Jewish Institute of Religion	"

OFFICERS

President, A. HENRY DETWEILER, Sibley Dome, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
First Vice-President, W. F. ALBRIGHT, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore 18, Md.
Second Vice-President, E. A. SPEISER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pa.
Secretary, FRANK E. BROWN, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Executive Assistant to the President, W. L. REED, 917 Wolf Run Road, Lexington, Ky.
Treasurer, JOHN W. WARRINGTON, Fifth Third Bank Building, Cincinnati 2, Ohio
Assistant Treasurer, THE CHASE MANHATTAN BANK, New York 15, N. Y.
Business Manager, New Haven Office, G. R. WALTON, Drawer 93A, Yale Station
Counsel, PEPPER, BODINE, FRICK, SCHEETZ AND HAMILTON, Philadelphia, Pa.

COMMITTEES

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (elected) The President, Secretary and Treasurer, *ex officio*; Messrs. Albright (57-59), Kraeling (58-60), Cameron (59-61). JERUSALEM SCHOOL COMMITTEE: Messrs. Dentan (chairman), Glueck, Muilenburg, Cross, Skehan, Reed. BAGHDAD SCHOOL COMMITTEE: Messrs. Kramer (chairman), Albright, Cameron, Goetze, Braidwood, Crawford. FINANCE COMMITTEE: The President and Treasurer, *ex officio*; Messrs. Phelps, Reynolds and Scott. EDITORIAL COMMITTEE: Messrs. Albright (chairman), Goetze, Winnett, Wright.

THE SCHOOL IN JERUSALEM

DR. MARVIN H. POPE, Director, 1959-60
DR. LOUIS F. HARTMAN, *Annual Professor*, 1959-60
DR. HERBERT G. MAY, *Honorary Lecturer*, 1959-60
DR. S. HERBERT BESS and MR. WILLARD G. OXTOBY, *Fellows*, 1959-60

THE SCHOOL IN BAGHDAD

DR. ALBERT GOETZE, *Honorary Director*
DR. VAUGHN E. CRAWFORD, *Director*, 1959-61
DR. BRUCE HOWE, *Annual Professor*, 1959-60

AT LARGE

DR. ALLEN O. WHIPPLE (M. D.), *Visiting Trustee Lecturer*, 1959-60
MR. KARL KATZ, *Corresponding Fellow*, Bezaleel Museum, Jerusalem (Israel), 1959-60